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**More English than the English?  
Cricket Fan Culture in New Zealand**

A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree  
of  
**Master of Social Sciences in Geography**  
at  
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**Danny Wiremu Gibbs**



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## **Abstract**

This thesis focuses on cricket fan culture in New Zealand. It examines academic theory in relation to sport, sport(s) fandom, cricket, and cricket fandom, and identifies their relevance to human geography. Theoretical constructions underpinned the data collected from New Zealand cricket fans over the course the 2017-18 summer. Cricket fan culture in New Zealand has not had sufficient reasoning to be defined in its own unique manner. Historically a lack of on-field success by New Zealand cricket teams, scarce amounts of domestic cricket being played in New Zealand, and culture clashes with prominent sports in New Zealand, led to stagnation in the development of a cricket fan culture throughout the twentieth century. Research of historical influences on contemporary cricket fan culture in New Zealand is combined with data collected from cricket fans via participant observation and semi-structured interviews. This research determines while that cricket fan culture in contemporary New Zealand mitigates against easy definition, the study of sporting fandom offers much potential for future geographic research Challenging historical and contemporary ideologies of cricket fan culture in New Zealand highlights the complexities, richness, and diversity of sports fandom.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

MCC: Marylebone Cricket Club

NZCC: New Zealand Cricket Council

ODI: One Day International

## Chapter One: Introduction

Cricket; the enigma, the romanticism, and the ideologies of the game spread across the world following the 'Empire' of Victorian Great Britain. This expansion incorporated colonial New Zealand, where the popularity of cricket aligned with colonial expansion and settlement. Ryan (2004) posits that "it is no coincidence that the growth of a 'new' British Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century was accompanied by an even greater expansion of sport" (p. 1). In New Zealand this was obvious, and the notion of 'expansion' was emphasised; there was no aim to develop cricket in its own *sui generis* manner in the new dominion. New Zealand maintained its close relationship with Great Britain until post-World War Two. Many features of pre-war life remained intact following World War Two; according to King (2003), "[m]ost New Zealanders still spoke of Britain as 'Home', and saw nothing wrong with superannuated British aristocrats or military men being sent here to represent the King of New Zealand in New Zealand" (p. 413). New Zealanders also saw nothing wrong in having the country's head of state living in London (King, 2003). The cultural affinity present between New Zealand and Great Britain, which began during the Victorian era, and lasted until post-World War Two, has much relevance for cricket fan culture in contemporary New Zealand.

To understand contemporary cricket fan culture in New Zealand, it is useful to engage with the historical context of cricket in New Zealand. This research explores and debates contemporary 'cricket fan culture' in New Zealand. Fan identity is questioned through researching fan identity theory within sporting geographies. Both internationally and within New Zealand entries in scholarly books and journals, there has been abundant academic research linking fan culture with such topics as identity, tourism, politics, motivation, place, space, nationalism, consumption, and attachment. These topics are part of the complexity that characterises the cultural dynamics of cricket fans in New Zealand.

The context of this research provides a comprehensive analysis into the intricacies of 'cricket fan culture' in contemporary New Zealand. It amalgamates a combination of historical evidence and modern day discussion to provide a

definitive bridge between each field. Analysis of cricket fans' discussions is present in the research, with data collected during first class and international cricket fixtures, and tour matches during the 2017-2018 New Zealand summer. Some discussions were with the same fan(s) at different fixtures, but as the games themselves were different, the discussions were diverse. The analysis of these discussions provides a platform on which to determine the positionality of cricket fans in New Zealand.

Chapter one provides an outline on the historical and modern day contexts of the research. Through careful analysis of relevant material, the historic data provides evidence as to the scope of the contemporary data collected. Both historic and contemporary contexts emphasise the complexities of cricket in terms of a fan dynamic.

Chapter two focuses on the academic theory used as a base for the research undertaken. As academic material that has been published on solely 'cricket fan culture' is uncommon, it is necessary to include other aspects of geographers' conceptualisations of sport and fandom in this research. The scope of conceptual considerations also included research about sporting theory from academic disciplines that relate to sporting geography theory, including anthropology, sociology, and psychology. The academic material provided by these different disciplines regarding sport and their chosen field has significance to this research. In order to provide clarity and context in the discussion in later chapters, discussion of academic sporting theory in Chapter two is categorised into four sections: fan culture theory in sport; fan culture theory in cricket; New Zealand fan culture theory in sport; and, New Zealand fan culture theory in cricket. This separation enabled differentiation between academic and sporting disciplines, as well as providing contrast so as to identify trends within the academic discipline of sport *per se*.

The third chapter focuses on the background of the research. By formulating an appreciation of the epistemological thought at crucial periods of time during New Zealand's cricketing and social history, it becomes apparent as to why 'cricket fan culture' in New Zealand has its current positionality.

Chapter four concentrates on the development of success in New Zealand cricket over time. With special focus on the post-World War Two era of New Zealand cricket, many differing beliefs and ideas are presented, with information from players accounting for these differences. The development of a professional cricketing environment caused a culture clash between the few professional players in New Zealand at the time, who were mainly based in England, and the traditional amateur status of New Zealand sports people, an attitude which had been impacted greatly by rugby union.

Chapter five focuses on data collection. Cricket is a complex game, and cricket fans can range from aficionados to those who have a limited understanding of the nuances of the sport. The data collected from cricket fans reinforced this breadth of fan composition. Contextualisation of terminologies used in the data collection underpins understanding to each individual fans' background regarding their judgement, opinions, and ideologies of cricket. Such contextualisation is vital in being able to dissect the different perspectives of cricket fans.

The thesis conclusion articulates what New Zealand 'cricket fan culture' is within human geography. The combination of academic geography literature, historical references, and contemporary data collection provides for tentative understanding of the spatialities of New Zealand cricket fandom.

## **Context:**

Blake (1996) describes sport as being a "part of everyday discourse, and its language is that of everyday life, constructing and reconstructing the identities of participants and observers alike" (as cited in Volkerling, 2000, p. 71). Sport provides a means through which groups of participants or supporters can identify as members of specific communities, while also providing the symbols through which the meanings of community life are determined (Volkerling, 2000). Despite these observations, the overall importance of the influence of sport in New Zealand society has largely been ignored within academia. Thus, there is a paucity of published material regarding academic analysis of sport in New Zealand (MacLean, 2001). In contemporary New Zealand this is still the case, despite

academic material being published that analyses many paradigms within specific sports, and sport in general in New Zealand, there is a lack published material present in comparison to other academic fields (Booth, 2005; Borell, 2016; Bruce & Stewart, 2015; Falcous, 2007, 2015; Grainger, Falcous, & Newman, 2012; Guoth, 2006; Little, 2002; Ryan, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Scherer & Sam, 2012). Hence, there is validity in observation that sport is significant within New Zealand's national culture, but it is under-represented in academic work (MacLean, 2001). This lack of coverage is obvious across all sports in New Zealand, with cricket being no exception.

Cricket has had a rich, complex, and diverse history. There have been many great cricket writers, including Neville Cardus, E.W. Swanton, C.L.R. James, and R.C. Robertson-Glasgow. These authors have eloquently described the game in their own unique way; there has not, however, been a significant amount of academic work done in relation to the many aspects the game has to offer. Within New Zealand, academic literature on cricket is very rare. There have, however, been some publications that provide an insightful view of cricket in New Zealand, from historical, social, and cultural perspectives (Ryan, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a). There have also been mentions of cricket in New Zealand within other academic material; while these comments are brief, they do provide an alternate perspective to that of non-academic cricket writers (Booth, 2000; Volkerling, 2000). In New Zealand most of the academic work surrounding sport centres on the culture, identity, and the social impact of a sport, or sport itself, and rugby union tends to be the most discussed sport (Booth, 2005; McConnell & Edwards, 2000; Ryan, 2008b, 2011; Stothart, 2000; Volkerling, 2000).

Outside New Zealand, sport has been the focus of considerable academic analysis (see, for example, Bale, 1988, 1989, 2000; Collins & Vamplew, 2002; Maguire, 2011; Malcolm, 2001, 2002, 2013; Mani, 2009; Osborne & Coombs, 2013; Parry & Malcolm, 2004; Stevens & Rosenberger, 2012). The ratio between publications devoted to cricket and other sports is similar to that in New Zealand, but the overall concepts and ideas that are discussed are far more expansive than that which has been published in New Zealand. Factors within sport such as commercialisation, masculinity, nationalism, socialisation, team identification, behaviour, tourism, motivation, culture, psychological ownership, consumption,

place, development, and nostalgia, have been researched in relation with sport (see, for example, Alt, 1983; Bairner, 2015; Bernthal & Graham, 2003; Billings, Qiao, Conlin, & Nie, 2017; Fairley & Gammon, 2005; Funk & James, 2006; Gammon & Robinson, 2003; Jensen, 2014; Joseph, 2011; MacLean, 2009; Malcolm, 2009; Melnick & Wann, 2011; Parry, Jones, & Wann, 2014; Parry & Malcolm, 2004; Smith & Stewart, 2007; Sumida, Wooliscroft, & Sam, 2015; Wann, 1995). These factors will be discussed in further chapters.

It is unclear as to why there is a paucity of academic literature about sport in New Zealand. New Zealand is a relatively young country when compared to traditional, European countries, but that does not mean it is not full of interest and character; especially in a cricketing paradigm. Even by researching the formative years when cricket was beginning to be conceived in New Zealand, the potential for an historic base from which to formulate research is too important to ignore. There was a spectacular explosion of cricket all over the British Isles during the nineteenth century, growth that was an outcome of Victorians having built on the impact of the Georgian cricketing legacy (Sandiford, 1982).

Sandiford (1982) defines the relationship between cricket and Victorian Britain, emphasising that the language and values of cricket pervaded all facets of English life in the nineteenth century, and the influence of the game had an impact of all types of people, from physicians, politicians, novelists, priests, poets, educators, and royalty. The timing of the growth of the game in during the nineteenth century was crucial for the development of the sport in New Zealand. As New Zealand became colonised in the latter half of the nineteenth century, attempts were made to recreate the Victorian ethos that held cricket in such high regard in Great Britain at the time (Ryan, 2004). These efforts to colonise the new dominion of New Zealand with the 'proper ethos' of cricket provide a context from which to begin research into discovering what is distinctive about 'cricket fan culture' in New Zealand. It would be naïve to ignore why cricket, during its foundational years in New Zealand aimed to not only maintain everything Victorian and British, but to attempt to supersede the philosophies, values, and traditions that had given cricket the stature it had in the 'mother country'.

## **Conclusion:**

This chapter provided a brief contextual outline to the validity and scope regarding the study of ‘cricket fan culture’ in New Zealand. Academic literature in relation to this topic provides an in-depth understanding about all aspects of sports fans. The data collection provides critical evidence regarding the theoretical stance of the academic literature, as well as offering a unique insight into the specific topic of the research. The historical evidence provides scope, background, and understanding as to the relevance of present literature and research. It allows fluidity to be present throughout hundreds of years of history, which is crucial given the great complexities present within cricket, and the many cultural contrasts, individual interpretations, and contrasting analyses of the game.



## **Chapter Two: Theory**

Sporting geography theory will be the focal point of this chapter. The first section of this chapter will investigate sporting geography theory before discussing specific branches of this academic context. This outline of sporting geography theory will lead into an analysis of fan culture theory. In order to gain an understanding of how fan culture is interpreted, understood, and defined by academics, it is useful to identify relevant materials from related disciplines.

Following the outline of sporting geography theory and academic theory on fan culture, this chapter will be separated into four main sections: fan culture theory in sport; fan culture theory in cricket; New Zealand fan culture theory in sport; and, New Zealand fan culture theory in cricket. The importance of outlining sporting geography theory is that it provides a broad scope through which to determine and understand fan culture theory. Having the opportunity to separate fan culture theory between New Zealand and publications from the rest of the world is key in emphasising the current neglect of in-depth academic research on this topic; only the tip of the iceberg has been explored so far. Despite the gaps present, the literature that is available provides an excellent foundation for further research to be undertaken. There is a broad scope which sporting geography theory covers, as many sports, cultures, and identities are discussed within this academic sphere.

### **Sporting Geography Theory**

Bale (1989) provides an outline on the position of sport in geography.

Determining that “[t]he broad umbrella of geography has produced a number of sub-disciplines” (Bale, 1989, p. 1), Bale (1989) begins to deconstruct these different sub-disciplines. According to Bale (1988), “[s]port is a major element of culture and has attracted the academic interest of scholars from a diverse range of disciplines” (p. 507). However, Bale (1988) reports that “[g]eographers have arrived relatively late on the sports studies scene” (p. 507) in comparison to other academic disciplines such as psychology, history, and philosophy (Bale, 1988). Despite this relative lateness regarding the academic relationship between geography and sport, there has been significant progress in recent years. There

have been many different sports, and many different areas within sports, that have been studied in a geographical sense, with a range of perspectives being applied.

Explaining the nature of linkages between sport and geography, Bale (1988) expresses how space and place are important to both sport and geography. Given that “‘place’ is a significant factor in a variety of sports contexts”, Bale (1988) notes that “it is somewhat paradoxical that geographers have appeared relatively reluctant to contribute to the multidisciplinary field of sports studies” (p. 507). The sub-field of sporting geography emerged as geographers engaged with relevant work from a range of academic disciplines in the social sciences and arts fields (Bale, 1989). For Bale (1989), the fundamental link between sport and geography may be found in the process of “geographical diffusion” (p. 4). Thus, Bale (1989) argues that:

the most obvious way to examine the geography of sport is to think of an individual sport (or sport *per se*) as originating at points in geographical space, spreading outwards from these initial areas to embrace regions, nations and in some cases the world, and hence forming a kind of regional pattern (p. 4).

The foundation laid by Bale (1989) provided an opportunity for sporting geography to grow as a sub-discipline within the wider field of human geography. Since then, sporting geography theory has continued to make progress, albeit without there being a plethora of published outputs. Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of progress within sporting geography has been the emergence of conceptualisations of sport-geography links. There has also been research that has looked into sports tourism and alcohol consumption, and its relationship with sport(s) fans (Burgan & Mules, 1992; Fairley & Gammon, 2005; Gammon & Robinson, 2003; Gibson, 1998; Joseph, 2011, 2012; Smith & Stewart, 2007). From largely an indecisive beginning, sporting geography theory established validity and relevance within such disciplines as tourism, human behaviour and motivation, culture, consumption, economy, and nationalism.

There has been much positive progress in the sub-discipline since the pioneering conceptualisations by Bale (1989). There have been sporting geography publications by Ilieş, Dehoorne, Wendt, and Kozma (2014), who, for example,

discuss conceptual and methodological approaches that have relevance for sport and geography. Ilieş et al. (2014) believe that:

By using certain geographic methods and tools of approaching sports, the most popular domain on Earth, the society benefits, on one hand, of extremely useful information regarding the spatial dimension of a sport branch or of sports generally and, on the other hand, of a scientific expertise referring to the support natural and anthropic elements for carrying on sport activities. Under such circumstances, the sport movement, diversified as type and form, generates local, regional or worldwide activities which through the manifestation manner and location produce benefits and development for the human society (p. 8).

Meyer-Arendt and Lew (1999) review publications on recreation, tourism, and sport in North America over the previous decade. Tonts and Atherley (2005) also provide an interesting perspective surrounding the relationship sport has within processes of social and economic change.

In addition to work completed within human geography, scholars from other disciplines have engaged within the spaces of sport. For example, Tonts and Atherley (2005) “investigate how wider processes of economic and social restructuring are reshaping the geographies of sport in rural areas” (p. 126). By reviewing recent literature on rural and social economic change and the role of sport in rural communities, the authors develop case studies that identify the importance of sports to the wellbeing of particular regions (Tonts & Atherley, 2005). Tonts and Atherley (2005) conclude by noting that:

It is often claimed that sport provides a forum for social interaction, helps to overcome socio-cultural difference, and offers a range of health benefits. Yet there have been very few detailed studies by geographers or other social scientists into the role that sport plays in rural communities, or how contemporary processes of economic and social change are affecting country sport (p. 125).

Beyond consideration of regional sporting geographies, authors have sought to understand the spaces of sporting fandom. Melnick and Wann (2011) formulate a theoretical concept regarding how fans become fans of certain teams. Wann (1995) also discusses the reasons behind why fans express motivation towards the

team they support. Osborne and Coombs (2013) critique the apparent domination of social identity theory used in contemporary sports fandom literature. Osborne and Coombs (2013) argue that this dominance of social identity theory excludes many people who would consider themselves sports fans. A new research paradigm is proposed by Osborne and Coombs (2013), called 'Performative Sports Fandom', which "locates fandom outside the individual within the social fabric between individuals" (p. 679). According to Osborne and Coombs (2013), this "allows participants to tell us whether they consider themselves to be fans, with little concern for how well they do or do not fit predetermined notions of fans" (p. 679). Crawford (2003) argues that theory on sports fandom is overly restrictive, while attention has also been paid to the impact satellite television and broadcasting rights have on sports fans (Baimbridge, Cameron, & Dawson, 1996; New & Le Grand, 1999; Scherer & Sam, 2012).

Cricket has a minor influence within the academic sub-field of sports geography, either as an adjunct to larger studies or as a specific focus of research. Despite this lack of detailed attention, many of the concepts associated with sporting geography may be applied to understandings of cricket and cricket fandom. The lack of relevant material also applies to scholarly considerations of sport in New Zealand. Thus, the work of such authors as Booth (2005); Halberstadt, O'Shea, and Forgas (2006); McConnell and Edwards (2000); Ryan (2004, 2005); Scherer and Sam (2012); Stothart (2000), and Volkerling (2000) stands out because of its uniqueness in New Zealand.

If considered in combination, there is little evidence that scholars in New Zealand have paid noteworthy attention to cricket and cricket fandom. Work that has been completed on cricket in New Zealand has been largely from a social history context (Ryan, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a). Malcolm (2001, 2002) deliberates colonial legacies within cricket on a global scale, while also challenging sociological discourse surrounding violence and its control in relation to studying non-contact sports such as cricket. Malcolm (2001) focuses on the influence of cricket on British-African-Caribbean athletes, accounting for race relations, cricketing participation, and the development of cricket in England and the Caribbean; all whilst encapsulating important historical influences cricket had within these communities. As Malcolm (2001) states:

There are many British-African-Caribbean athletes in a wide range of sports (in particular soccer, athletics and basketball) cricket provides a more illuminating example of the inclusion and exclusion– the integration and separatism – of this minority ethnic group than perhaps any other single sport (p.253).

The research by Malcolm (2009, 2013) includes debate about identity within English cricket discourse, and research about the globalisation of cricket, which Ryan (2014) critiques. Malcolm (2001, 2002, 2009, 2013) largely focuses on the sociological impact cricket had across the former British Empire. Ryan (2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2011) has published work on sport within New Zealand from a social history context. Ryan (2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2011) centres his research around cricket and rugby union, providing detailed contexts regarding the positionality of these sports in New Zealand society during their formative years.

## **Fan Culture Theory in Sport**

This section of the chapter uncovers and interprets current fan culture theory in sport. One difficulty surrounding fan culture theory in sport stems from the way in which relevant ideas are posed across a range of academic disciplines. This section is designed to facilitate a framework for understanding the nature and scope of New Zealand cricket fandom. Five focal points may be identified within academic literature surrounding sport and fan culture: identification, motivation, consumption, economy, and tourism.

There is not a great range of academic material regarding fan culture theory in sport available in comparison to other aspects of sporting geography studies. Wann and Hamlet (1995) reiterate this, arguing that “only 4 percent of all sport sociology and psychology research focuses on sport spectators” (as cited in Crawford, 2003, p. 221). Most contemporary academic research concerning sport(s) fans attempts to collectively discuss sport as a whole, or aims to define separations between sports fans and other types of fans outside of the sporting realm (Dixon, 2016; Schimmel, Harrington, & Bielby, 2007). There is also focus

on the impact social media is having within sports fandom (Billings et al., 2017; Filo, Lock, & Karg, 2015).

## **Identification**

Crawford (2003) argues that “[r]esearch on sport fans is an area that has been largely marginalized within academic debate” (p. 221). This is still present in contemporary research, with only sporadic studies regarding sports fans being present (Phua, 2010; Potter & Keene, 2012; Stevens & Rosenberger, 2012).

Jensen (2014) emphasises this, stating:

the study of sport fan consumer behavior has enjoyed significant growth over the past two decades. However, as interest in the area has increased significantly, so has the dearth of available textbooks and edited works focused solely on the topic of sport fan consumer behavior (p. 109).

Bale (1988) expands on this ideology from a geographical perspective, suggesting that “sport has lain uneasily within both social and recreational geography (fields in which it might most logically be expected to emerge), being viewed as an epiphenomenon whose ideological function has barely been considered” (p. 507). There are many different methods, theories, and perspectives from which to endeavour to understand the identity of sports fans; to add to the complexities, the differences within different sports can be incredibly diverse. Crawford (2003) employs the theory presented by Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) who argue that sports fans can be categorised into three main paradigms: behavioural, incorporation/resistance, and spectacle/performance (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998; Crawford, 2003). The purpose of framing these paradigms is to separate and categorise the complexities of different stages and intensities of sports fans. Crawford (2003) applies this methodological approach within his chosen ice hockey environment, arguing that:

[t]his theorization has a number of advantages over typologies or noncareer based continua set out in many existing conceptualizations of sport supporters. It allows for an understanding of a supporter’s position within a supporter ‘community’ as the product of both ‘achieved’ and ‘ascribed’ status –and hence as a product of

both ‘agency’ and ‘structure’. It recognizes the fluidity and temporality of many supporter ‘communities’, how an individual’s position in this can change over time, and how they can belong to numerous ‘communities’ and groups... Moreover, this theorization recognizes that the attributes and progression of a supporter within any supporter ‘community’ are unlikely to be uniform, and individuals occupying a similar career position may demonstrate different (though equitable) characteristics in their patterns of support and attitudes. (pp. 233-234).

Branscombe and Wann (1992) theorise sports spectator aggression slightly differently, analysing relevant academic material and determining a model. Sutton, MacDonald, and Milne (1997) present a regimented ideology of fan identification, which focuses on American sports. According to Sutton et al. (1997), “[f]an identification is defined as the personal commitment and emotional involvement customers have with sport organization” (p. 15). Cricket fans certainly do not view themselves as customers, and cricketing nations and teams are not viewed as organisations. Borland and MacDonald (2003) provide an interesting perspective regarding professional sport, one which challenges the work by Sutton et al. (1997), and Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998). Borland and MacDonald (2003) argue that there is still a lot to be learned about the demand for professional sport and that not much can be drawn from existing literature. This is because fan identity can centre on many different factors and influences.

Funk and James (2006) focus their research on the attachment of fans to the team they support, an emphasis which reflects the dominance of research based on psychological perspectives (Branscombe & Wann, 1991; Cialdini et al., 1976; Melnick & Wann, 2011; Wann & Branscombe, 1993). There has also been socially-focused qualitative research on fan identity within sport (Alt, 1983; Joseph, 2012; Sumida et al., 2015). Duncan (1983) has a slightly different view of researching spectator sport, believing that it can be analysed through six distinct categories of symbolicity: recurring life issues, transcendence of human limitations, rebellion against industrialised society, aesthetic unity and completion, religious overtones, and political dimensions. Duncan (1983) emphasises that her research is only a theoretical introduction and that other research should be undertaken to find other meanings which spectator sport could

have. One key motif surrounding fan identity within this research is nationalism; something which Bairner (2015) has investigated. Bairner (2015) provides an educated view on the dynamics of national identity and nationalism in sport, and questions the terminologies and understandings of national identity and nationalism in contemporary sport. Bairner (2015) argues that:

[t]oo often, sociologists of sport have seemed happy simply to refer to the term ‘imagined community’ and move on without further scrutiny of that concept itself. Even though sport is a hugely important marker of national identity and a useful starting point for discussion of nationalism, how much can we really understand about nations and national identities if we only view these through the lens of sport and, indeed, in relation to globalisation? (p. 378).

## **Motivation**

Wann, Grieve, Zapalac, and Pease (2008) postulate that “over the past 20 years, sport scientists (e.g., sport psychologists, sport sociologists, and sport marketing professionals) have shown an increased interest in the psychological factors that motivate individuals to consume sport” (p. 6). This interest has relevance for analysis of fan motivation in a geographical sense as all the mentioned traits provide spatial context. As identified by Bale (1989), the relationship between space and place has an influence on fan motivation:

Sport and geography are both concerned with space and the way it is occupied; they both focus on the way people and objects move and interact in geographic space; regions form a central feature of the organisation for many sports teams; sport is affected by, and increasingly affects, both the environment and the landscape; sport is a world of hierarchy and territoriality (p. 2).

The factors mentioned by Bale (1989) impact fan motivation, as fans from different regions may support different teams or players due to being from the same region as each other. Such spatial relationships incorporate the influence of loyalty and self-esteem, emotions discussed in detail by Phua (2010) and Stevens and Rosenberger (2012). A diverse range of sports have been studied in an academic context, and theoretical research encapsulating motivation has been published in relation to many factors regarding fans of a sport. Socialisation,



reasons for supporting a certain team, behaviour, relationships between polarised fans, psychological ownership, nationalism, effects of star quality players, aggression, economics in sport, symbolic dimensions, and break-away identities have all been researched under the umbrella of fan motivation (Bairner, 2015; Branscombe & Wann, 1991, 1992; Duncan, 1983; Halberstadt et al., 2006; Jane, 2016; Jennett, 1984; Melnick & Wann, 2011; Parry & Malcolm, 2004; Sumida et al., 2015). As noted previously, Osborne and Coombs (2013) argue that current literature focuses on the contrast between fans and others who are not fans. The 'Performative Sport Fandom' theory Osborne and Coombs (2013) have proposed "seeks answers to questions about sport fandom left unaddressed by research rooted in social identity theory" (p. 677). Osborne and Coombs (2013) argue that "[p]ast research has focused on determining who is or is not a sport fan in order to correlate degrees of fandom with variables such as aggression, well-being or motivations" (p. 677).

There are numerous factors that are conveniently recognised to enable an understanding of fan motivation within cricket, a sport that encompasses much diversity, knowledge, and interpretation. The most immediate proposition which is key in relation to understanding fan motivation within cricket is understanding the positionality of the fans. Current literature about fan motivation in sport is lacking in sporting geography, and in other academic disciplines the potential is there for a variety of research.

## **Consumption**

There is great diversity surrounding fan consumption within sporting theory. Bale (1989) outlines the importance of space and place within sporting geography, noting the relevance of considering how sports fans consume every aspect of their chosen sport within these spaces and places. There has been broad research across academia about the consumption practices of sports fans. Smith and Stewart (2007) attempt to categorise factors within sports consumption, with the intention of using their findings to help improve understandings of sports tourism. Smith and Stewart (2007) emphasise the importance of consumption by sports fans, stating that "sport fans and consumers are the fulcrum upon which sport leverages its popularity" (p. 155). Referring to the work of Horne (2006), Smith and Stewart

(2007) outline how sports fans consume a particular sport or various sports, determining that “they watch live television broadcasts, listen to radio commentary, read the sports pages of the daily newspapers, dial into sport websites, buy sport branded merchandise, and travel extensively to attend events” (p. 155).

Many of these practices fit within other academic research of sports fans in general. The paradigms discussed by Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) and Crawford (2003) identify these factors of consumption. Branscombe and Wann (1991) explore a different avenue of sports consumption, discussing its benefits from a psychological perspective, determining that “an individual can benefit from sports consumption in general... additional benefits may be received from strongly identifying with a particular team” (p. 116). These benefits surround bonding with other fans and consumers, which Branscombe and Wann (1991) believe results in “increased feelings of self worth” (p. 117).

Alt (1983) provides a general explanation regarding consumption of sport, not necessarily determining specific types of consumption, but expressing why sports fans are attracted to consume sport. Alt (1983) discusses what he calls the ‘spectacle’ of sport, which provides context regarding modernised consumption methods of sport. According to Alt (1983) “the spectacle requires and fosters a social milieu of masses, of atomised individuals who have lost a commonality or an intersubjectivity grounded in values, skills, and standards” (p. 98). Alt (1983) critiques academic sceptics of sport, and determines that “the spectacle does not reproduce bourgeois beliefs so as to hegemonize masses; more likely the spectacle mirrors and gratifies the emotional requirements of consumers without sublimation” (p. 98). Research by Jennett (1984) has a similar notion to the research by Alt (1983), identifying the change in society regarding access to consuming other sports and activities.

Despite current literature on the consumption of sports fans providing many interesting theoretical concepts, Funk and James (2006) argue that despite the advances in the literature “we still do not understand how initial attraction to a sport team develops over time into allegiance” (pp. 189-190). As this is a key element to continued consumption of a sport or sports, Funk and James (2006)

endeavour to fill this gap in the literature by employing psychological and economic perspectives. Funk and James (2006) conclude by determining that their “study will provide the impetus for additional research seeking to more fully understand the formation of and meaning of consumer allegiance in sport” (p. 211).

## **Economy**

There is not a vast amount of academic literature addressing the economic influence of sport, or the role of economics within sport. The bulk of the contemporary research regarding how economic factors influence fan culture in sports focuses on the impact the internet is having on fans being able to access sporting events (Hutchins & Rowe, 2009, 2012). Most of this literature is focused on attendance and the impact on sports fans paying to watch televised sport. For example, Borland and MacDonald (2003) determine that for there to be economic aspects to analysis there has to be a demand for professional sport, expressing that “[t]he essence of demand for the game or sporting contest is ‘fan interest’” (p. 479). Moreover, Borland and MacDonald (2003) speculate that “[a]n economic approach to studying demand for sporting contests identifies both ‘direct’ demands and ‘derived’ demands” (p. 479). Direct demand exists where a consumer derives utility from a sporting contest, and derived demand is where the sporting contest is used as an input in production of another good or service (Borland & MacDonald, 2003).

There are fans wanting to be a part of a sporting environment, and then there is the commercial side of sport, where television rights are sold, and sponsorship and advertising is present. Questions are present regarding how these economic factors influence fan culture in sport. There needs to be a balance between sports fans wanting to attend sporting events, and not being outpriced of going, as that creates another dimension within fan culture itself. According to Jennett (1984), who researched on Scottish football, it is necessary to consider the attraction of alternate recreational activities available as a substitute or replacement. Jennett (1984) refers to Bird (1982), who implies that watching football (in Scotland) has become an inferior good: “As real incomes have increased, consumers’ leisure

horizons have widened; there is much more to do than go to football” (p. 195, as cited in Bird, 1982, p. 648).

Satellite television has changed the landscape of sports broadcasting and sporting economics dramatically. New and Le Grand (1999) provide a contextual background on this relationship through research in the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, the availability of sporting events being broadcast was, and still is a matter of national attention (New & Le Grand, 1999). At the time New and Le Grand (1999) published their research, Sky Television in the United Kingdom had the rights to televise English Premier League football, many England national football and rugby matches, the Ryder Cup golf competition, and the (1999) Cricket World Cup (New & Le Grand, 1999). However, only a small proportion of the population had Sky Television, thus eliminating a mass of the population from having access to view sporting events. This profile leads New and Le Grand (1999) to state that “the nation suffers by the restriction placed on people being able to join together to share in a national event, thus damaging social cohesion” (p. 23).

There are counter arguments on the impact of Satellite Television, but they tend to ignore the crucial characteristics of sporting events or championships (New & Le Grand, 1999). According to New and Le Grand (1999), “[s]porting contests are monopolies. . . they are monopolies of a particularly pure kind — 'natural monopolies' — that cannot operate under competitive market conditions without fundamentally altering the nature of the 'product'” (p.24). This point is critical. It cannot be underestimated as the economic impact some sporting events have had in recent years has, no doubt, changed the nature of the product. Cricket is a prime example of this school of thought. In contemporary sport, however, the influence of the internet and social media is changing the viewing landscape for sports fans (Billings et al., 2017; Filo et al., 2015; Hutchins & Rowe, 2009, 2012; Phua, 2010).

There are also other economic influences within sporting academia that directly relate to fan culture theory. In a leisure context, Joseph (2012) argues that “alcohol and drinking are social, political and economic phenomena that require deeper examination” (p. 150). Joseph (2012) extends this argument by referring to

Collins and Vamplew (2002), who believe that “[i]t is no exaggeration to suggest that, no matter what the sport or its level of popularity, the consumption of alcohol is almost an intrinsic part of the spectator experience... it would be difficult to argue with the contention that for many spectators, the activity on the field of play is often secondary to the opportunity to drink” (p. 69).

## **Tourism**

Gibson (1998) believes that “the concept of sport related tourism has become more prominent in the last few years both as an academic field of study and an increasingly popular tourism product” (p. 46). Gibson (1998) explains that there are no answers to all the questions that are generated by consideration of tourism and sports. This absence of answers stems in part, from a failure to limit the scope of relevant subject matter. Gibson (1998) suggests that there are two areas of bias within the subject – a focus on tourism studies, or a focus on sport studies. A balance between the two is key within a fan culture context, as there are many different levels of sports tourists, and the definition and separation of them can be difficult to conclusively determine. Despite this, Gibson (1998) states that “most American scholarship about sport tourism has focused on large sport events which attract spectators as tourists” (p. 48).

A different approach to sport tourism has been taken by Joseph (2011), who looks at sport and tourism through a diasporic lens. Joseph (2011) uses ethnographic research methods to understand sporting tourism diaspora with a Caribbean-Canadian group returning to the West Indies. Smith and Stewart (2007) expand on traditional sports fans consumption theory and pose questions of how it changes in a tourism setting. When Borland and MacDonald (2003) touch on the impact of the product of professional sport, they note that attracting tourists is a factor within increased economic activity. Fairley and Gammon (2005) account for similar influences to Joseph (2011), but focus on the role of nostalgia in sports tourism. Fairley and Gammon (2005) determine that “two broad conceptualizations of nostalgia in sport tourism have been used: nostalgia for sport place or artefact, and nostalgia for social experience” (p. 182). The first refers to the history and heritage of sport or a sport, and the second presents the

argument that this type of nostalgia can be due to a sports fan or fans wanting to relive a social experience (Fairley & Gammon, 2005).

Gammon and Robinson (2003), however, provide an overall conceptual framework of the relationship between sport and tourism. Gammon and Robinson (2003) believe that “the relationship between sport and tourism is most definitely gaining momentum in both industry and academic circles” (p. 21). Gammon and Robinson (2003) also note, however, that “[t]hough much has been written concerning the precise nature of Sport and Tourism, there seems little work that discusses the practical side of the subject and its implications” (p. 21). Gammon and Robinson (2003) create a model to “illustrate the bisectional nature of the subject area, i.e. either from a sport or tourism base, whilst, secondly, highlighting the segmentalist structure of Sport and Tourism in order to delineate further areas of focus” (p. 22). The liberal nature of the discussion within sport and tourism has allowed it to not be aligned to a specific academic field. Gammon and Robinson (2003) emphasise why this is, stating:

[t]here is little doubt that sport and tourism as a single discipline is at an embryonic stage in its development and must be encouraged to branch out in what ever areas it deems appropriate – however vague the linkage... any future studies or research should resist polarising two already separate subject areas (p. 22).

## **Fan Culture Theory in Cricket**

### **An Overview**

Fan culture in cricket is something that has largely been ignored within academia. The aim of this section is to understand why there is limited academic work on cricket fan culture, examine the academic work that is present, and construct a framework for the findings in later chapters. It is difficult to find any academic work solely focused on cricket fan culture itself, especially within sporting geography. Parry and Malcolm (2004) provide the most relevant research regarding fan culture in cricket, with their study of the *Barmy Army*, the name given to English cricket supporters by the *Sydney Morning Herald* when they

were in Australia during the 1994/95 Ashes Tour of Australia<sup>1</sup>. This faction of English cricket supporters proudly bestowed this name upon themselves and have kept it ever since, and are still a presence during English overseas cricket tours. The complexities of this group of fans has been further researched by Malcolm (2013). Joseph (2011) has also presented an approach to understanding cricket fan culture, but in a tourism setting. Using ethnographic research methods Joseph (2011) collected a broad scope of data from West Indian cricket fans who lived abroad, and returned to the West Indies to visit. Malcolm (2013) also discusses the influence of diaspora in cricket identities, following a similar ideology as Joseph (2011).

### **A (New) English Paradigm**

The *Barmy Army* is a unique collection of cricket fans. They are often heard when they cannot be seen, and they add their own influence to the dynamic of a game of cricket. Parry and Malcolm (2004) note how the *Barmy Army* “almost spontaneously it seemed... formed themselves into a loosely organized but cohesive and clearly identifiable unit” (p. 75). This was due to many factors, including the length of time of which an Ashes Tour consists, finance, emotional commitment, common nationality, a hedonistic lifestyle, and a love of cricket (Parry & Malcolm, 2004). Due to the uniqueness of the type of supporters that the *Barmy Army* are, however, it is not valid to attempt to contextualise other cricketing fans from different countries, even the same country, in a similar way. Malcolm (2013) presents a valid argument however, drawing on parallels in cricket history:

the Barmy Army represents a qualitatively new form of English national identity and, as with the nineteenth century ‘re-invention’ of cricket as the quintessential English game, this has occurred concurrently with a combination of society-wide social processes and cricket-specific developments (p. 131).

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<sup>1</sup> The Ashes is the name for the trophy which is competed for by the Australian and English cricket teams. It is the most prestigious series in world cricket, and the oldest regularly contested series between two cricketing countries. It was first competed for in the Australian summer of 1882-83, following the shock victory by Australia over England earlier in 1882. Currently, the series consists of five, five day Test matches, and is played biennially, with each country alternating hosting the series. In the past there were times when the series consisted of six, six day Test matches (with rest days after day three), and six, five day Test matches.

This apparent and potential cultural shift, which is the *Barmy Army*, has validity in this argument in relation to societal shift. As findings show in later chapters, some fans have philosophical reasons behind this, based on life experience and drawing upon great historical periods. This is also apparent in contrasting findings from a brief example of field notes by Parry and Malcolm (2004). One *Barmy Army* member Parry and Malcolm (2004) talked to, stated:

them over there (gesturing to the members' section) they haven't got a clue; all they give is this (imitates polite quiet handclapping). What it's all about is getting behind your team the way football fans do week in week out; it's all about lifting, raising the players by showing you care and they (gesturing to the England players in the field) respond for you and love it too (pp. 79-80).

This statement is incredibly bold, and some cricket fans could interpret it as being utterly ignorant and unjustified, which will be considered in later chapters. These findings by Parry and Malcolm (2004) provide a foundation for further research, on which Malcolm (2013) builds. In terms of a study of a unique fan group, the framework used incorporates many important aspects regarding historical contexts, demographics, and social processes (Malcolm, 2013; Parry & Malcolm, 2004). The positionality of the *Barmy Army* would certainly be brought into question, as the *Barmy Army* member from the field work by Parry and Malcolm (2004) notes, he does not hold members in high regard. But there are many further questions that could be asked, even within this statement alone. The idea of implying a style of fandom similar to what is present in football, suggests the possibility that different types of fans may have no regard whatsoever for this new type of fandom in cricket, and how cricket is changing to adapt to them. Every cricketing country could have its own unique foundations, ideologies, and culture; however, due to the game itself coming to prominence in England, it is important to note the historical context of cricket fandom.

### **Structuring and Defining Cricket Fan Culture(s)**

Parry and Malcolm (2004) present three generalised fundamentals of cricket fandom, emphasising that the three are not mutually exclusive, but are



distinguished in their research for experimental reasons. The first fundamental is: the rural idyll, this:

centres upon an idealized, socially harmonious scene in which a village green cricket match takes place within a picturesque and tranquil English country setting... from the upheavals of industrialization and urbanization, this ideology was a nostalgic and romantic celebration of an imagined lost past (pp. 76-77).

The second fundamental coined by Parry and Malcolm (2004) is moral worth. Which:

is captured in the phrases ‘it’s not cricket’, ‘playing with a straight bat’, etc., which are widely used to sanction perceived substandard behaviour. Cricket came to be regarded not just as a game but, rather, a venerated symbol of the code of ethics of the English gentleman (p. 77).

The last fundamental presented by Parry and Malcolm (2004) reflect the convergence of the two previous fundamentals, and is the representation of cricket as quintessential English game. Parry and Malcolm (2004) emphasise that these three fundamentals are “not meant to portray an essentialist view of cricket” (p. 77), however they also express that “a failure to understand cricket reinforced boundaries of inclusion and exclusion” (p. 77). Boundaries of inclusion and exclusion include:

the use of the terms ‘French Cut’ to describe a miss-hit shot, ‘Chinaman’ to describe an unusual type of bowling delivery and ‘French Cricket’ to describe a simplified, less formal version of the game served to reinforce the notion of who belonged and the behaviour expected from them (Parry & Malcolm, 2004, p. 77)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> A ‘Chinaman’ bowler is a left-arm bowler who uses their wrist to spin the ball. The stock (most common) delivery the ‘Chinaman’ bowler delivers is called the chinaman, but ‘Chinaman’ bowlers can also possess a number of deliveries in their arsenal, much like the more common ‘Leg Spinner’, or ‘Wrist Spin Bowler’ – the right arm equivalent of the ‘Chinaman’ bowler. The origin of the term has never been officially verified, however the most common theory is that it came to fruition during the English summer of 1933 when the West Indies were touring. During the second Test at Old Trafford in Manchester, Ellis “Puss” Achong of the West Indies, but of Chinese descent, was bowling his usual left-arm orthodox deliveries to Walter Robins of England, when Achong delivered a chinaman delivery and Robins was stumped. It is thought that Robins said to the umpire (Joe Hardstaff Snr.) as he was walking off “fancy being done by a bloody chinaman” (Cricinfo, n.d.-bd).

Certainly the *Barmy Army* are a representation of *amor patriae* in a cricket fandom sense, but they are very unique in their own right, thus making it difficult to determine parallels between them and other cricket fans.

Joseph (2011) theorises a discussion surrounding nostalgic sport tourism, and reconnecting with history through stadia tours. The ethnographic data Joseph (2011) observes and collects provides excellent material for her research, but it can also be interpreted from a fan culture perspective as well as expressing a reconnection to nostalgic tourism. The ethnographic research by Joseph (2011) is done in the Caribbean; the bastion of the cricket world from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s. Joseph (2011) was with a group of cricket fans when they visited the Beausejour Cricket Ground in Saint Lucia. This venue, now known as the Daren Sammy Cricket Ground, was built for the 2007 Cricket World Cup. While visiting the ground, one of the touring party Joseph (2011) was with expressed their excitement at visiting a state of the art stadium in which the West Indies played (Joseph, 2011). It is interesting to think about why this fan was excited, they are not turning up to the Antigua Recreation Ground in the 1980s to watch Viv Richards strut to the crease, like a gladiator in front of his adoring home crowd. They are visiting a brand new stadium, but because the West Indies play there, it creates enthusiasm.

This type of fan dynamic is different from the previous theories portrayed about the *Barmy Army*. It certainly poses many questions as to why these complexities within the multifaceted and historical game that is cricket, have not been explored. Joseph (2011) also accounts the reactions and actions of the fans with whom she was touring. What stands out is the reaction when members of the touring party saw photos of great West Indian players and great moments in West Indian cricket history. Joseph (2011) explains how pictures of Michael Holding dismissing Tony Greig at The Oval, London, in 1976, and of Courtney Walsh holding a stump and celebrating with teammates in Adelaide in 1993, became “fodder for nostalgic reflections” (p. 153). This caused members of the touring party to recount where and when they were during these, and other historic moments, in West Indies cricketing history. Cricket is a game that was spread across the world as part of colonisation, but colonial influences could only last so long in new colonies where cricket became a prominent sport. The work of Joseph (2011) determines the

complexities of looking into cricket fan culture theory beyond a colonial, Eurocentric point of view. Further research by Joseph (2012) explores different cultural influences on West Indian fans in their ‘home’ setting, and Parry and Malcolm (2004) and Malcolm (2013) have provided a foundation for English cricket fan culture.

## **New Zealand Fan Culture Theory in Sport**

### **‘New Zealandness’ and Sport**

There is not a great depth of academic publications that research New Zealand fan culture in sport. This scarcity may be considered odd for a country where sport has a profound influence in everyday life. Borell (2016) emphasises the relationship sport has in New Zealand, arguing that “[s]port and ‘New Zealandness’ appear to be inextricably attached” (p. 161). Volkerling (2000) expands on this, expressing the importance of sport in New Zealand, arguing that “New Zealand’s success or failure in international sport is seen to have profound political implications” (p. 69). Volkerling (2000) refers to political commentaries during the 1999 election in New Zealand, presenting an argument that the All Blacks loss to France in the 1999 Rugby World Cup semi-final caused a fluctuation in the collective mood of the country as a whole, underpinning increased votes for the opposition Labour Party, which won the 1999 election in New Zealand. Volkerling (2000) even goes as far as saying that “on and individual level, sport also represents a cultural resource for the formation of identity” (p. 72). McConnell and Edwards (2000) expand on this, encapsulating a variety of factors, stating:

The New Zealand identity is shaped in a myriad of ways for those who play or follow sport. Our perception of who we are as individuals may be influenced by acceptance in a sporting team and success or failure in the sporting arena. The clothes that we wear, with their associated sporting symbolism, are an indication of success or achievement or group membership. Social acceptance of our sporting endeavours and recognition of ourselves as sportspeople from primary school to masters games level often shape acceptance by our peers. Our gender identity, ethnic and religious affiliations, education and roles in the business environment

may all be impacted upon by sport – positively or negatively. Identity may be affected negatively by one's inability to participate in sport to the levels expected to by others or one's attitude towards the focus on sport and sport's perceived excessive exposure and focus in our society (pp. 115-116).

### **Rugby: The Impact on New Zealand Identity**

The majority of cultural discussion of sport(s) in New Zealand has centred on rugby union and football (soccer), with a very small amount on cricket. The majority of the research has focused on the identity of the sport(s) in New Zealand, factoring into account how these sport(s) have shaped, or have been shaped by national identity in New Zealand. Certainly, rugby union has had a vast impact on this (see, for example, Grainger et al., 2012; MacLean, 1999; Phillips, 1996a; Ryan, 2008b, 2011). Ryan (2008b) emphasises this, referring to the impact the 1905 'Originals' team had on New Zealand national identity, and expressing that "it was believed that rugby prowess embodied the qualities of New Zealand life – rural, healthy, egalitarian, dominated by men possessed of admirable physique, natural athleticism, dexterity, adaptability and initiative" (p. 43)<sup>3</sup>. Ryan (2011) refers to Phillips (1996b) who emphasises this further, positing that "[r]ugby was more than a game – it was a barometer of the nation's health, or at least its men's health... The model of manhood represented by the 1905 team was to remain the core of the male stereotype in New Zealand for the next 70 years" (Phillips, 1996b, p. 111).

The positionality of rugby union in the academic sporting sphere in New Zealand has arguably created a doctrine to which other sports aspire. Certainly, there is clear evidence between the evolution of rugby due to success on the field and the developing identity of New Zealand citizens. The dominance of rugby union is conclusive, even rugby league continues to sit in the shadow of the 15 person game. Falcous (2007) provides clear examples of the contrast between the two rugby codes in New Zealand, whilst also discussing the contested sports space in

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<sup>3</sup> The 'Originals' were the first official New Zealand rugby union team to tour outside Australasia; they toured the United Kingdom, France, and the United States of America. The name 'Originals' is due to them being the first, or original, All Blacks; as on the tour a typing error by a member of the press caused a published newspaper article to describe the team as playing like 'all blacks', instead of the intended 'all backs'.

New Zealand and drawing upon the historic conflict between rugby league and rugby union. Rugby league scouts attempted to attract many great rugby union players to play rugby league in New Zealand during the twentieth century; they could not, however, breach the fortress of amateurism (Ryan, 2008b). Despite rugby league being a professional sport, and rugby union fixated on maintaining its amateur values, the conflicting ideologies meant very few rugby union players transferred to play rugby league (Ryan, 2008b). Falcous (2007) discusses the uproar caused by the Albert Baskerville organised *Pro-Blacks* team to tour Great Britain in 1907<sup>4</sup>. Falcous (2007) uses an example of the press coverage in New Zealand at the time to articulate his message, stating that the:

New Zealand press coverage was sceptical and hostile - lauding the virtues of amateurism and dismissing the viability of the tour. Media reportage for example, condemned professional rugby on the unsubstantiated grounds that it would encourage a culture of undesirable gambling. Baskerville himself was portrayed as a mercenary promoter seeking personal profit. In a further effort to undermine the tour's credibility, and illustrating the intersection of NZRFU and government interests, the New Zealand Government's agent general in London delivered a statement to the British press as a means of undermining Northern Union confidence and support for the tour... the defence of amateur rugby's domination of sports space reveals the intersections of elite interests in the press, local politics, government and sporting administration in policing the 'acceptable' ethos in which rugby was to be played (pp. 430-431).

According to Falcous (2007), "the omission of the Kiwis is symptomatic of the affirmation of the *relative* marginality of rugby league in New Zealand" (p. 424, emphasis in original). Ryan (2008b) also provides an example of the severity of how rugby league was viewed in New Zealand in the past. George Nepia and Bert Cooke, two great All Blacks of the 1920's transferred to rugby league at the height of the depression in the 1930's to secure their financial futures, and both were reinstated to rugby union during World War Two (Ryan, 2008b). However, the New Zealand Rugby Football Union flatly refused to reinstate later defectors such as 1935-36 All Black Mike Gilbert, who apparently had no valid reason to switch to rugby league in 1939; Gilbert was not even invited to the New Zealand

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<sup>4</sup> The 'Pro-Blacks' were the first official rugby league team from New Zealand. They toured Australia, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), England, and Wales from 1907-08.

Rugby Football Union 75<sup>th</sup> jubilee dinner in 1967 (Ryan, 2008b). Ryan (2008b) proposes that the difference between the likes of Nepia and Cooke, and Gilbert and other ‘defectors’, was “that these players remained within the official sanctum and did nothing to undermine the aura and sense of public ownership that came to envelope the All Blacks and New Zealand rugby more generally during the twentieth century” (p. 44). The influence of rugby within the sporting culture paradigm in New Zealand is paramount. The positionality of the game has significantly impacted the nation, a relationship that may be linked to the formation of a national identity in concert with the values of the game of rugby union. Rugby is the game in New Zealand. It constructed its own values within its rich history, whereas in sports such as football and cricket, there were different considerations in evidence.

### **Finding a ‘Place’ Within New Zealand Sporting Culture**

Academic research on football (soccer) in New Zealand has focused on its place within New Zealand culture and identity, and its place within society and sport historiography (Bruce & Stewart, 2015; Guoth, 2006; Little, 2002). Bruce and Stewart (2015) interpreted news and media coverage of the New Zealand national men’s football team, the All Whites, surrounding the 2010 football World Cup, and public comments associated to these stories. Bruce and Stewart (2015) aimed to:

analyse the ways in which mainstream news coverage of the 2010 All Whites drew upon discourses of masculinity, ethnicity and national character and style to shift the team from historical linkages with ‘poofers’ and ‘ex-Pats’ towards an articulation to valued forms of masculinity and national identity (pp. 712-713).

The influences of masculinity are prevalent in football, and have an impact on the identity of the game, especially regarding fandom. The complexities of the research by Bruce and Stewart (2015) challenge existing methodologies, largely due to the attempt to correlate football on a national scale in a country where there are negative stereotypes about it, with identity or fandom. Porat (2010) provides a definitive argument surrounding football fandom within club football, arguing that “football fandom, meaning a strong affiliation to a football club, is a permanent

component in the fan's identity profile" (p. 280). The permanency Porat (2010) notes is not often prevalent within international football, especially in a country where the public are likely to only take notice of their nation's team because of success, like the All Whites produced in 2010 before and during the World Cup. This is where the discourse surrounding the argument by Bruce and Stewart (2015) is open to criticism, as their research only centred around news and media stories and public comments on these stories on news and fan websites. As Porat (2010) emphasises:

the traditional most committed fan... behaves as if he possesses the club and the game, and behaves accordingly: he attends each of his club's games and his daily and weekly agenda revolves around the football club. This includes his relationships with all of his significant reference others: family, friends and employment (p. 280).

Bruce and Stewart (2015) do not know if the comments by the members of the public they have interpreted are by citizens who align themselves to be a football fan as Porat (2010) defines them. The culture and identity of football fans in New Zealand could potentially be significantly different to the public perception of football. Little (2002) challenges the notion of how football is viewed in New Zealand society, and argues that it has had more of an impact than first thought. Guoth (2006) follows on from this, presenting an argument about the foundation and legacy of football in New Zealand, and why it has been unable to take its 'place' in New Zealand society. Falcous (2015) also provides discussion surrounding the themes New Zealand media used during the 2010 World Cup.

## **New Zealand Fan Culture Theory in Cricket**

### **An Emergence: Colonial Influences in Cricket**

There has not been a great amount of academic work on New Zealand fan culture in cricket, if any, from a geographical perspective. There have, however, been excellent academic publications from a social and historiographical context (Ryan, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a). In order to begin constructing a valid theoretical concept of New Zealand cricket fan culture, it is important to begin interpreting

and understanding information from historical sources and accounts from important cricketing personnel of yesteryear. Without such historic context, the academic theory that is currently available will not have justification to stand alone.

The influence of colonial values is evident through early cricket history in New Zealand. Academic literature emphasises this, as is evident in accounts of pre-World War Two tours by the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC, England) to New Zealand and New Zealand tours to England (Jardine, 1984; Mitchell, 1950; Ryan, 2004, 2005; Sutcliffe, 1935; Swanton, 1952, 1968; Warner, 1951)<sup>5</sup>. There is interesting discussion and contrast between cricket and rugby union in New Zealand culturally. In terms of how rugby union evolved, dispersed, and diffused within New Zealand, it is possible to formulate an argument as to why rugby union fan culture in New Zealand has constructed itself to how it is today. Whereas cricket has an entirely different historical background, MacLean (2009) discusses cultural nationalism within colonial sporting nationalisms, stating that:

there is an assertion of a cultural nationalism often based in aesthetics – the claims to distinctive styles of play are held to mark New Zealand rugby as not British and Welsh rugby as not English, or West Indies cricket as distinctively like, but not the same as, the English game. These colonial sporting nationalisms are a complex phenomenon that asserts both membership of a community associated with some notion of Britishness through a shared Imperial past, and distinctiveness through its association with forms or ways of nationalism (p. 537).

This is true with the examples used, however, with New Zealand cricket, it is very difficult to define the positionality of cricket. There is clear evidence of rugby union in its early stages developing its own epistemological foundation in New Zealand. As early as 1888-89 when the New Zealand Native team toured Great Britain there was controversy over how the New Zealander's played the game, and this was personified further during the 1905 'Originals' tour of Great Britain (Ryan, 2011). Yet with cricket in New Zealand, arguably until the Second World

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<sup>5</sup> The Marylebone Cricket Club organised England cricket tours, both home and away, for the majority of the twentieth century. Hence meaning the representative cricket team of England but were administered by the MCC, and were thus referred to as a team selected by the MCC and its members. It was not until what is now known as the England Cricket Board (ECB) came into fruition, that the MCC stopped selecting England cricket squads for Test matches.



War, there was an utter contrast in the ethos and progression of the game to that of rugby union.

### **Continual Attachment to Britain**

Ryan (2004) determines that in New Zealand “cricket developed in an environment in which the preservation of British social and cultural values was pursued with considerable determination” (p. 2). This could be argued regarding any cricketing country in its formation years, as the influence of colonialism dominated the game in every colony in which it was played. This was until distinctive national identities began to emerge and incorporate themselves within sporting paradigms. The difference with New Zealand, however, appears to be that there was an elongated, desperate effort to continue to attach all cricketing matters, influences, and philosophies as close to being ‘English’ and ‘Victorian’ as possible. Ryan (2005) argues that:

the perceived ‘English’ character of New Zealand cricket also endured because the game never produced a pattern of success necessary to sustain expressions of assertive colonialism and later emergent nationalism such as those characteristic of New Zealand rugby or cricket in Australia and the West Indies (p. 30).

New Zealand played its first Test Match in the summer of 1929-30 versus the touring MCC side, who were weakened due to having two representative teams on tour simultaneously, with the other being in the West Indies. New Zealand did not win a Test Match until the 1955/56 summer, versus the West Indies at Eden Park, Auckland, and despite winning one Test Match, New Zealand lost the previous three in the series, the first two Tests by an innings and the third by nine wickets – comprehensive defeats (Carman, 1971; Cricinfo, n.d.-g, n.d.-n, n.d.-v, n.d.-y; Neely & Payne, 2008). The combination of attempting to sustain a firmly British ethos within cricket prior to World War Two, and the lack of on field success could be argued as a firm reason to why there was a stagnation in the development of a cricketing culture following World War Two. In New Zealand there was significantly less first class cricket played in comparison to England, and New Zealand played far fewer Test matches than other cricketing powerhouses in the first half of the twentieth century. The determination of following British values

of cricket stopped any formulation of New Zealand developing a unique cricketing culture, a contrasted to the cultural evolution of rugby union.

### **Cost of Amateurism**

The successful 1949 tour of England was followed by a terrible decade in the history of the game in New Zealand (Ryan, 2005). This grew into a growing emphasis by the New Zealand Cricket Council (NZCC) at the time to reinforce the amateur values of the game in New Zealand. In taking this stance, the NZCC clashed with Glenn Turner, New Zealand's first full professional player, and one of the best batsmen ever to play for New Zealand (Ryan, 2005). Turner was forthright, and had an excellent understanding of how professional cricket was administered, having played several seasons for Worcestershire as an overseas professional before he started to cause controversy whilst playing for New Zealand (Cairns & Turner, 1983; Ryan, 2005). This controversy led to Turner playing only sporadically for New Zealand after 1977. Despite being the best New Zealand batsman playing at the time by some distance; Turner refers to his struggles with the NZCC at the time, as it had contrasting views to his. Although Turner was part of an environment in Worcestershire, where professional players were embraced for many years, by Turner's account the NZCC disregarded his opinion on many occasions (Cairns & Turner, 1983).

Ryan (2005) poses an interesting comparison between cricket, other sports, and events during the post-World War Two era, arguing that:

[w]hen set against such popularly acclaimed achievements as the conquest of Mt Everest by Edmund Hillary, world-renowned athletic performances by Peter Snell and others during the early 1960s, and the triumph of the All Blacks over the Springboks in 1956 and their dominance of international rugby for much of the remainder of the twentieth century, the lack of cricketing success and seeming lack of ambition on the part of many of its administrators and supporters left the game with nothing to contribute to the strengthening rhetoric of a New Zealand national identity during the post-war years (p. 35).

Furthermore, Ryan (2005) contests that the interpretation of success from the previous events mentioned has been forged into academic discussion surrounding national identity in New Zealand. Ryan (2005) critiques this interpretation regarding cricket, postulating that there is ignorance of “the fact that this same setting produced a cricket team incapable of overcoming these same obstacles... cricket culture was tied to a set of ‘Old World’ values that were supposedly the anathema to much that shaped success in New Zealand” (p. 36). Cricket in New Zealand did not have a sustained period of apparent success until the 1980s. Ryan (2005) argues this “was coincidental, but highly advantageous in terms of enhancing its profile, that cricket began to enjoy greater international success at a time when New Zealand was embarking on something of a cultural realignment, distancing itself from British and Britishness” (p. 36). This cultural realignment for New Zealand cricket has caused understanding what cricket fan culture is in contemporary New Zealand to be difficult. Every colony and former colony where cricket is played to an international standard has had this period of cultural realignment, albeit significantly earlier than when it occurred with cricket in New Zealand.

## **Conclusion**

Outside of the work of Parry and Malcolm (2004), Malcolm (2001, 2013), and Joseph (2011, 2012), there is minimal research about cricket fan culture(s). Even within a single cricketing fan base of one country, there are umpteen, diverse, and unique fan types and cultures. Parry and Malcolm (2004) and Malcolm (2013) have provided an outline for cricket fan culture in England, and researched the construction of the *Barmy Army*. However, the diversity amongst English cricket fans is obvious, at almost every international and first class game in England the scope of fans extents from enthusiastic children to octogenarians keeping score of the game in their personal scorebook. These diversities would certainly not be unique to English cricket fans either. The research of Joseph (2011, 2012) provides a different perspective due to the difference in countries, and cricketing culture within those countries. It becomes clear that no regimented approach would produce authentic results in determining what cricket fan cultures are in various countries.

There is no great depth of direct research on fan culture(s) within New Zealand sport(s). Research focus tends to sway towards the relationship between the identity of the sport itself and New Zealand national identity (Bruce & Stewart, 2015; Grainger et al., 2012; Guoth, 2006; Little, 2002; MacLean, 1999; Phillips, 1996a, 1996b; Ryan, 2008b, 2011). Certainly, rugby union is the dominant sport within these discussions, as it has had the greatest historical impact on New Zealand national identity. However, despite the lack of direct research on fan cultures in sports themselves, the focus on identity allows a platform on which to compare and contrast findings from this research regarding cricket fan culture in New Zealand. Ryan (2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a) provides a social and historiographical foundation on cricket in New Zealand, which can be used to begin formulating an argument in terms of defining contemporary cricket fan culture in New Zealand.

It is possible to begin formulating an academic background and standpoint upon which to define cricket fan culture in New Zealand. The work of Ryan (2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a) is crucial to this, and accounts from former New Zealand cricket players who were part of professional cricket environments outside of New Zealand, or could see why New Zealand cricket needed to become more professional also add relevance and context (Cairns & Turner, 1983; Reid, 1966; Wright & Thomas, 1990). What cannot be ignored is the persistence to maintain everything English about cricket in New Zealand for as long as possible, and the effect this had on the lack of evolvement in terms of a cricketing culture in New Zealand. This focus, combined with the persistence of maintaining the amateur ideologies across New Zealand sport, stagnated cricket in New Zealand for decades.

## **Chapter Three: Background**

### **Introduction**

To develop a robust understanding of what characterises contemporary cricket fan culture in New Zealand, it is appropriate to consider the history of the sport in New Zealand. Colonial influences played a significant role in the formative years of cricket in New Zealand, and the maintenance of these originating values has been a feature of New Zealand cricket in intervening decades. Thus, while such sports as rugby union developed a distinctive cultural code, cricket remained tied to historic norms defined by Empire and Victorian socio-sporting ideals. Indeed, while most colonies were active in distancing themselves and their cricket from ‘everything British’, in New Zealand there was conscious effort to prolong the English nature of the game (Ryan, 2004). This British influence within cricket lead to a unique entrance into the cricketing world for New Zealand.

### **Foundation in New Zealand**

The expansion of the British Empire during the nineteenth century was accompanied by an expansion of sport (Ryan, 2004). Ryan (2004) explains that cricket was at the forefront of Victorian ideologies and values during this expansion:

Cricket was much more than just another game to the Victorians. Indeed, they glorified it as a perfect system of ethics and morals which embodied all that was most noble in the Anglo-Saxon character. They prized it as a national symbol, perhaps because – so far as they could tell – it was an exclusively English creation unsullied by oriental or European influences. In an extremely xenophobic age, the Victorians came to regard cricket as further proof of their moral and cultural supremacy (p. 303).

In contrast to sporting evolution in most British colonies, the Victorian ideals that surrounded cricket during colonial expansion were prevalent in New Zealand. In an effort to explain this ongoing Englishness, Ryan (2004) notes that an

immediate problem during the early years of settlement was the lack of flat playing areas conducive to play cricket. Combined with the lack of population, even in the main cities, this lack of facilities hindered the growth of cricket in New Zealand until the 1870s. The combined population of the four main cities increased by more than five times during the four decades after 1870, improving scope in terms of playing numbers (Ryan, 2004). In the post-1870 era, minor associations began to grow, but most regions lacked a potential pool of playing numbers strong enough to sustain local competition. This lack of numbers, combined with travelling difficulties, and dispersion of population at the time, made playing regularity challenging. During this minor growing period of cricket in New Zealand, Māori playing numbers were nearly non-existent. As Ryan (2007) notes, “there is very little evidence for any comparable interest in cricket, irrespective of its form, among Māori in New Zealand” (p. 73). This is arguably due to a combination of Māori not becoming urbanised until the mid-twentieth century, and the draconian way in which the game was taught:

Cricket became an avenue of imposing ‘gentlemanly’ qualities upon Māori males. The behaviours, patience and disciplines of a sport such as cricket were deemed perfect for civilising the ‘savage’. The way cricket was organised, and the nature of its imported values, allowed the coloniser to maintain dominance over who played it, demanding of those Māori who played the game that they should embrace and accept the qualities, such as discipline, patience and teamwork, deemed ‘normal’ by their colonial compatriots (Borell, 2016, pp. 164-165).

Cricket had previously been used in other colonised areas of the world, such as India, the Caribbean, and parts of Africa, as a mediating tool between indigenous populations and colonial rule (Borell, 2016). In New Zealand, however, a combination of the cost of playing cricket, a lack of clubs in rural areas, the urban nature of the game, and a lack of effort from New Zealand cricket, as well as the opportunities rugby union presented, meant Māori participation was always low (Borell, 2016; Ryan, 2004, 2007).

Cricket participation began to increase in the years leading up to the turn of the twentieth century, a period during which school and interprovincial cricket began to develop in New Zealand (Ryan, 2004). Up until 1894 and the formation of the

NZCC as a national government body, local administrative bodies controlled cricketing regions throughout New Zealand. The first New Zealand representative team took the field the same year (1894), and the Plunket Shield, the premier domestic First class cricket competition, began in the 1906-07 summer. Despite these apparent advancements, cricket continued to struggle in New Zealand for many years to come (Ryan, 2004).

## **Early Years in International Cricket**

The early years of New Zealand being on the international cricketing stage were certainly underwhelming on the field. There had been previous tours by New Zealand representative sides overseas, and other international representative teams visited New Zealand. These fixtures, however, were not classed as official international fixtures as New Zealand was not given Test match status until 1930 by the Imperial Cricket Conference (later becoming the International Cricket Conference, and then the International Cricket Council, as it is known today); which was the governing body of world cricket at the time (Carman, 1971; Cotter, 1990). Once New Zealand was granted international status as a Test playing nation, a complex history began to emerge. A distinct lack of quality in terms of players was present. The lack of world class talent was due to a combination of many factors, such as accessibility, playing numbers, and urbanisation of the game (Ryan, 2004, 2005).

## **MCC Tour of New Zealand 1929-30**

New Zealand ventured into the international cricketing arena in the beginning of 1930, playing four, three-day Test matches against a touring MCC side. There were two teams representing the MCC touring simultaneously, one in New Zealand and one in the West Indies. It may be argued that the MCC team in the West Indies was of greater strength than the team in New Zealand, boasting such players as George Gunn, Andrew Sandham, Patsy Hendren, Les Ames, Wilfred Rhodes, and Bill Voce (Cricinfo, n.d.-c, n.d.-j, n.d.-q, n.d.-x). These players all had long, successful careers for their respective county's as well as England, whereas the MCC side that toured New Zealand at the same time contained only

two players of note that had successful careers, K.S. Duleepsinhji and Frank Woolley (Carman, 1971; Cotter, 1990; Cricinfo, n.d.-a, n.d.-i, n.d.-p, n.d.-w; Neely & Payne, 2008). For many of the MCC touring party to New Zealand, the four Test matches they played were the only four they played their whole careers. In addition to a difference in playing quality, the three-day Test matches that were played between New Zealand and the MCC side in 1930 contrasted with the five-day Test matches played by the MCC team touring the West Indies. This difference is an immediate sign of the perceived strength of New Zealand cricket at the time. The West Indies also boasted some of the greatest players to ever play the game in their side at the time, including George Headley and Learie Constantine. New Zealand's only world class player at the time was Stewie Dempster. The perceived strength of New Zealand cricket at this time by other world cricketing powers did not change for a number of years. The series in 1930 finished with the MCC winning the first Test at Lancaster Park, Christchurch by eight wickets, and the remaining three Tests, played in Wellington and (two in) Auckland, were drawn (Carman, 1971; Cotter, 1990; Cricinfo, n.d.-a, n.d.-i, n.d.-p, n.d.-w; Neely & Payne, 2008). Of note for New Zealand, Stewie Dempster became the country's first centurion in the second Test match, the same fixture in which his opening partner Jack Mills also made a century. Aside from these milestones, it was largely a series to forget for New Zealand, despite inclusion into the Test match arena (Carman, 1971; Cotter, 1990; Cricinfo, n.d.-i; Neely & Payne, 2008).

### **New Zealand Tour of England 1931**

New Zealand toured England during the 1931 English summer; again this was not met with positive on field success. This tour took place in the context of financial struggles within New Zealand cricket. As Ryan (2004) explains, the revenue potential of provincial cricket in New Zealand cricket remained limited, while the NZCC had suffered a heavy financial loss from the 1927 tour of England (New Zealand only played first class fixtures on this tour). This financial situation, in combination with the Great Depression, meant the 1931 tour was nearly postponed (Neely & Payne, 2008). New Zealand played England in three, three-day Test matches, resulting in a draw in the first Test in London, at Lord's, a comprehensive English victory in the second Test in London again, but this time



at the Oval, and another draw at Old Trafford, in Manchester (Carman, 1971; Cricinfo, n.d.-e, n.d.-k, n.d.-s; Neely & Payne, 2008). Again, this tour followed a similar theme to the previous MCC tour of New Zealand, as New Zealand only possessed one world class player in Dempster, whereas England had many such players, and a far stronger team than toured New Zealand in the 1929-30 summer. By all reports, it was a terrible summer in England, with poor weather limiting gate takings, a factor which contributed to what would be a financial loss for the New Zealand Cricket Council (Neely & Payne, 2008). Despite the lack of success on the field, Stewie Dempster was named one of Wisden's five cricketers of the year, confirming his place as New Zealand's best batsman (Neely & Payne, 2008)<sup>6</sup>. The tour ended on somewhat of a sour note, however, as the NZCC disqualified the promising young leg spinner, Bill Merritt, from playing for New Zealand as he signed with a club in Manchester, breaking an agreement made by the members of the New Zealand side to not return to England for at least two years following the tour (Cricinfo, n.d.-ad; Neely & Payne, 2008). The disqualification of Merritt emphasises the financial strain of cricket in New Zealand at the time, Merritt took the opportunity of earning a living playing cricket, instead of being an amateur player in New Zealand (Cricinfo, n.d.-ad). Overall, this tour did not do New Zealand cricket any favours regarding its stature, and it was a financial loss. A tour to New Zealand by South Africa was imminent and the signs were not good for New Zealand.

### **South Africa in New Zealand 1931-32**

South Africa came to New Zealand following a tour of Australia where they were comprehensively beaten by a strong Australian side (Cricinfo, n.d.-ak, n.d.-al, n.d.-am, n.d.-be, n.d.-bm). Only two, three-day Test matches were played, and South Africa won both with relative ease (Carman, 1971; Cricinfo, n.d.-f, n.d.-m; Neely & Payne, 2008). Again, Dempster was the only world class player New Zealand possessed, but he failed in the first Test in Christchurch. In the second Test, however, New Zealander Giff Vivian became the youngest batsman to score a century in a Test match (Carman, 1971; Cricinfo, n.d.-f, n.d.-m; Neely & Payne, 2008). As Neely and Payne (2008) note, at this time "New Zealand cricket

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<sup>6</sup> Wisden Cricketers' Almanack is a reference book published following the completion of each cricket season in England. It was founded in 1864 by John Wisden.

officials continued to lament the loss of players who had left to play professional cricket in England” (p. 26). This effect would be felt even more when New Zealand’s best player, Stewie Dempster, followed suit after the series against the touring MCC side the following summer.

### **MCC in New Zealand 1932-33**

Out of any of the pre-World War Two series New Zealand played, this tour by the MCC in 1932-33 personified the perception of New Zealand cricket at this time. The MCC arrived in New Zealand following the controversial ‘Bodyline’ series in Australia, which they won convincingly. The hysteria surrounding the ‘Bodyline’ series in Australia created much publicity concerning the MCC side, in particular their captain, Douglas Jardine. Despite this tour being at the height of the Great Depression, record crowds flocked to the Test matches both in the Australian and New Zealand parts of the tour (Neely & Payne, 2008). In New Zealand, the public were treated to some of the most dominant, belligerent, and ruthless cricket the country has ever seen. Despite both Test matches resulting in draws, outcomes determined by a combination of average weather and the Tests only being played over three days, the devastating affect the MCC had over the New Zealand side personified many factors regarding New Zealand cricket at this time. Wally Hammond practically ended the career of the young New Zealander leg spinner Doug Freeman, after Hammond dispatched his bowling for fun throughout the two Test matches; Mason (1962) sums this up well, stating “I mourn the massacre of Freeman; I do not doubt that Hammond does too” (p. 147). Freeman only played one more first class game following this Test series, and disappeared from cricket. In a metaphorical sense, it could be argued that New Zealand cricket was heading for a similar fate. New Zealand were dominated despite both results being draws, and things were to get worse as Stewie Dempster left for England for work, and never played for New Zealand again, despite captaining and scoring many runs in county cricket for Leicestershire until the beginning of the Second World War (Neely & Payne, 2008).

## **New Zealand in England 1937**

By 1937 it had been four years since New Zealand last played a Test match. Despite a touring MCC team coming to New Zealand in 1935-36 and playing four unofficial Test matches, it was difficult to develop cricketing talent in New Zealand due to domestic teams only playing three Plunket Shield fixtures per season (Neely & Payne, 2008). There were three Test matches played on this tour, again, only lasting three days each. The first Test at Lord's and the third Test at the Oval were drawn, with the second at Old Trafford being won comfortably by England. New Zealand did not have any genuine world class talent in their side, but there were young players that would grow into excellent players after the Second World War. New Zealand were still dominated by England, even in the drawn Tests, and the English side was considerably weaker than the side that toured New Zealand in 1932-33 (Carman, 1971; Cricinfo, n.d.-b, n.d.-d, n.d.-h, n.d.-l, n.d.-r; Neely & Payne, 2008). This was to be the last venture into international cricket for New Zealand until post-World War Two. Certainly, the birth of New Zealand on the international cricketing landscape had not been something of note. A combination of a lack of international cricket in comparison to other Test playing nations, a poor standard of cricket played, and bad results was not an ideal start.

## **Emergence to the beginning of World War Two**

It is important to thoroughly analyse the position New Zealand cricket was in at the outbreak of the Second World War. This is because international cricket in New Zealand was forced to nearly start over following the completion of the Second World War, and an opportunity presented itself for a great renaissance to occur. As there was no international cricket played during the War, New Zealand did not play on the international stage again until the summer of 1945-46. But what state was New Zealand cricket in at the beginning of the Second World War, and did it leave a foundation for cricket to prosper following the ending of the War?

To understand the positionality of New Zealand cricket at the outbreak of the Second World War, it is important to factor in influences that were affecting New Zealand prior to playing international cricket. Arguably the biggest factor to take into account was that New Zealand missed the ‘Golden Era’ of cricket, which scholars determine was between 1890-95 and the beginning of the First World War in 1914, or the end of the Victorian and beginning of Edwardian eras (Allen, 2012; Holt, 1996; Morrah, 1967). This period of time was rich with cricketing jargon and legendary players who were then known for their unique personalities and brilliant cricketing ability; now they are known for their ever-lasting effects they have had regarding all aspects of cricket. These influences transcended English cricket, forming and encapsulating everything that was great about it, and set the foundation for English cricket forever. Within the colonies where cricket was becoming popular, Australia had already been developing its own cricketing identity in much the same way Ryan (2008b, 2011) describes rugby union in New Zealand. Other colonies quickly began adapting cricket in such a way it quickly left the lingering British ideologies surrounding the game behind. In contrast, New Zealand made an extreme effort to maintain these colonial values within cricket, albeit without anywhere near the same financial resources, a dispersed population, and very difficult options for travel between areas of population. The importance of this period of time is paramount, as it has an impact on the shaping of New Zealand cricket fan culture and why it is the way it is today.

### **Effects of missing the ‘Golden Era’**

As Ryan (2004) explains, many factors were present regarding the stagnation of the growth of cricket in New Zealand prior to, and following, the turn of the twentieth century. While cricket was struggling to develop in New Zealand, in Britain cricket was in a ‘Golden Era’ of great players making their unique contribution to the game. It may be argued that the player who had the greatest influence on cricket of all time was Dr. W.G. Grace. Even though his career was in its twilight at the beginning of the ‘Golden Era’, the impact he had on cricket set the foundation for great players to follow. His importance is emphasised by many cricket writers; Morrah (1967), for example, states that “no other cricketer could stand where he had stood; there would never be another player universally acclaimed as the Champion” (p. 60). Rae (1998) argues that “[n]o one, however,

could challenge Grace's position in the game, or his place in the English consciousness" (p. 492). Martin-Jenkins (1980) provides an eloquent description of Grace's influence on cricket, positing that Grace:

is still, a century after his prime, the most famous cricketer of all... No one has dominated the field so long and indisputably by prowess and personality alike; he was for years... the best known of all Englishmen and, in a sense, he epitomized the British passion for sport, the seeds of which were sown in every part of the Empire... and he put cricket 'on the map' as a public spectacle (pp. 54-55).

The foundation that Dr. W.G. Grace left allowed cricket to advance dramatically. The technique of batsman evolved incredibly fast, and with the likes of K.S. Ranjitsinhji (Ranji) adding technical refinements to batting and Gilbert Jessop enhancing the flair associated with batting, this set a foundation for the great English batsman to follow. Along with these advancements in the game, cricket was more accessible during this rich era of its history to the public that it arguably has ever been in New Zealand.

Ryan (2004) contrasts the amount of first class cricket played in New Zealand and Australia between 1850 and 1915, and the results emphasise the lack of first class cricket being played in New Zealand in comparison to Australia at this time. Between 1850 and 1915, there were 277 first class fixtures played in New Zealand and 495 in Australia (Ryan, 2004). It would be safe to assume that there had been considerably more first class cricket played in England than either New Zealand or Australia during this time period, especially after the County Championship was officially formed in 1890. Eight county teams competed in the first season of official County Championship competition in 1890; by 1895 this had grown to 14 teams; and, in 1905 there were 16 teams playing in the competition (Cricinfo, n.d.-af). Teams would play each other twice, home and away, during the season, plus games against university, touring, and minor county teams. As previously noted, even in the mid-1930s, first class teams in New Zealand were only playing three games per season (Neely & Payne, 2008). This number did not grow a great amount for decades to come, and the lack of games became a source of frustration for cricketers in New Zealand post-World War Two (Reid, 1966).

By missing the 'Golden Era' of cricket, the public in New Zealand were not exposed to a high standard of cricket for a very long time. First class cricket was a rarity, meaning players could not develop into high quality cricketers apart from those who excelled by great natural talent and ability. The reminiscences of former players were already present in English and even Australian cricket by the time New Zealand began playing at an international level. Recollections of the likes of Grace, Ranji, Jessop, and Barnes were already being passed down to a new generation of English players and fans, who would then add the likes of Hobbs and Rhodes amongst others to their memories which would in turn be passed on to the next generation. The same memories were present in Australian cricket, with names such as Trumper, Hill, and Blackham having the same effect, before names like Bradman, Grimmett, and McCabe began to be added. It was not only the calibre of the players playing outside of New Zealand that allowed an early, unique cricketing culture to be developed in these countries; but the strength of domestic cricket played a big part, especially in England. Great county teams had already been and gone long before New Zealand was granted international cricketing status. This caused unique cultures within these countries to thrive, and these are still present today.

It was not only missing this rich era of cricketing history that led to a poor start in terms of success in international cricket for New Zealand. The added factors of a lack of domestic cricket, as conditioned by a dispersed population, travel difficulties, and a lack of financial revenue, made it extremely difficult for any fan culture in cricket to begin to develop its own unique identity. Whereas in rugby union this occurred quickly due to on field success and a unique style of play, in cricket this was near impossible (Ryan 2008b). Even following the Second World War, it took decades for New Zealand to begin developing its own fan culture in cricket. Missing the 'Golden Era' left cricket in New Zealand with almost no foundation on which to build so the game could progress in the country. Instead, the fixated notion of replicating the game in as English manner as possible without the historical foundation, playing numbers, population, quality transport, and accessibility led to an underwhelming beginning.

## **Early Cricket Ideologies in New Zealand**

Ryan (2004) summarises cricket in New Zealand up until the Second World War by noting that

The tone of the first three New Zealand tours of England (1927, 1931, 1937), emanating from a land where many still called England 'home', suggested that New Zealand cricket was finally approaching the objective that it had set itself a century earlier – to play the game in a manner more English than the English (p. 6).

This echoes across accounts made by touring MCC players at this time; there was often contrast used by the MCC players to compare the New Zealand players and the public, and their Australian counterparts, all with the intention of making New Zealand sound better than was reflected in on-field performance. Douglas (1984) encapsulates this approach in relation to the 1932-33 tour of New Zealand by the MCC:

Before sailing for home, the Englishmen made a short tour of New Zealand. The visit was highly successful, with both hosts and guests anxious to demonstrate, for different reasons, how much they preferred each other's company to the Australians'. Australia had tried to stop England making the tour, feeling that it would diminish the importance of the main series of matches in Australia. New Zealand were offended by this and was subsequently delighted when the Englishmen so obviously enjoyed their visit. 'If only,' said the Englishmen as they travelled about the islands, 'if only Australians were as civilised as New Zealanders, there would not have been all the trouble.' The display of mutual affection reached its peak at the City Hall, Wellington, where the English team solemnly processed down the central aisle with the organ playing 'See here the conquering hero comes.' (p. 147).

English players of this era also express their admiration of New Zealand; Herbert Sutcliffe stated that:

New Zealand, a jewel of a country, delighted me. They are grand folk in New Zealand. My cricket was a sorry failure there, but they looked after us so well that they made me forget it... A wonderful little country is New Zealand, with its hot

lakes, spouting geysers, its west coast Fjords in the South Island which rival those of Norway in their enchanting beauty, its magnificent snow-capped mountain-ridges and, above everything else, its glorious loyalty to the Motherland. You cannot find a better British subject than the Briton who is a New Zealander. I found the country something of a paradise (pp. 158-159).

The famous captain of the 1932-33 tour, Douglas Jardine, wrote: “[s]ome of the happiest days of the tour we owe to New Zealand, which we dubbed our ‘home from home’. Messrs. Donnelly, Lusk, and Wankelyn were three princes of hospitality to us in the loveliest of our Dominions which it has been my fortune to visit” (Jardine, 1984, pp. 19-20). Even the austere Wally Hammond was delighted by New Zealand when he toured as part of MCC teams (Howat, 1984).

What is interesting to note in these descriptions of the country is that there is not a great amount of attention focused on the cricket. Jardine (1984) does note that New Zealand, along with the likes of South Africa, the West Indies, and India have all progressed in since their emergence onto the world cricketing scene, but most accounts of international fixtures being played in New Zealand prior to the Second World War are brief. Perhaps the thrill and controversy surrounding the Bodyline series did not help when the MCC toured New Zealand in 1932-33 immediately afterwards, and Hammond destroying the New Zealand bowling attack certainly did not add any prestige to the stature of New Zealand cricket at the time. There seemed to be a desire for approval by the MCC party, however, and the country appeared to take pride in the compliments received (Jardine 1984; Sutcliffe 1935).

## **Post World War Two**

Immediately following the end of the Second World War, there was no immediate change regarding how New Zealanders saw Britain (King, 2003). There was also no change regarding cricket. A hastily arranged tour to New Zealand by Australia was made, and the first official Test match between the two countries was played<sup>7</sup>. This was in the summer of 1945-46, and the MCC were to play one Test

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<sup>7</sup> This Test match was not given official Test status at the time, it was not until March 1948 that the International Cricket Council gave this fixture Test match status (Neely & Payne, 2008).



match in New Zealand at the end of their Ashes tour campaign the following summer in 1946-47. This totalled to one Test match per year in the two immediate years following the Second World War. These two Tests were definitely not remembered by how New Zealand played; they were well-beaten by Australia in Wellington, and the following summer played-out a mundane draw against the MCC in Christchurch. These two Test matches are not remembered for their exhibition of cricket; rather, they are known for signalling the end of great careers by members of the Australian and MCC teams, and the beginning of the career of one of New Zealand's best ever batsman.

The Australian, Bill 'Tiger' O'Reilly, retired following the Test match versus New Zealand in 1946 (O'Reilly, 1985). O'Reilly did note how enthusiastic the New Zealand crowd was, with 20,000 turning up to watch the second days play (Neely & Payne, 2008; O'Reilly, 1985). Unfortunately for the crowd, Australia demolished New Zealand, and New Zealand were beaten by an innings (Cricinfo, n.d.-ba; Neely & Payne, 2008). Despite the result, "such was the public's interest in cricket after the lean war years that the New Zealand Cricket Council collected record gate-takings of £3000" (Neely & Payne, 2008, p. 33). The following summer the poor results on the field continued, but there were promising signs for the future of New Zealand cricket. The MCC side in 1946-47 drew their only Test match at Christchurch. This result was overshadowed by the retirement of Wally Hammond following this Test (Mason, 1962). For New Zealand, however, a young Bert Sutcliffe made his debut in this Test match, and was to be a key player on the next tour of England in 1949.

### **New Zealand in England 1949**

The 1949 tour of England was the most successful tour New Zealand cricket had experienced to date. The success of it thrilled fans back home, and for the first time in New Zealand cricket history, aside from Stewie Dempster, New Zealand players were discussed as being among the best in the world. The interesting dynamic that occurred following the tour was the continuation of an amateur ethos, and a lack of first class cricket being played, all despite having enough world class talent in the side to warrant more cricket and a more professional environment. The tour of England in 1949 was a success on the field for New

Zealand, as they held their own for the first time in international cricket. Off the field there was immense pride taken in the positive light through which the English public and aristocracy viewed the team and the nation. The brand of cricket the team played was a big factor in this, as HRH The Duke of Edinburgh wrote in the forward to the documentation of this tour by Mitchell (1950). HRH stated

I was delighted that the visit of the New Zealand Cricket Team coincided with my term as President of the Marylebone Cricket Club. In that capacity I was fortunate enough to meet them on several occasions and to watch their particularly attractive cricket. For these reasons the New Zealanders' Tour in 1949 will stick firmly in my memory... The New Zealanders did a great service to Cricket here in England.  
HRH The Duke of Edinburgh, foreword in, Mitchell (1950).

A large factor to the success of this tour was the high quality players New Zealand had at the time, especially in terms of batsman. As Mitchell (1950) notes, Bert Sutcliffe "arrived in England with a ready-made reputation and publicity that included such tags as 'the best left-hander in the world', 'New Zealand's Don Bradman.'" (p. 58). He was joined by Martin Donnelly, who had been residing in England and studying at Oxford. Sutcliffe and Donnelly were the fulcrum of the New Zealand side, and Sutcliffe's tally of 2,627 runs for the tour was second only to Sir Donald Bradman for the most amount of runs by a touring player (Brittenden, 1958).

For New Zealand, it was a great asset to have these world class batsman in their side, but these wonderful performances by them, and others in the New Zealand team all happened overseas. This was a recurring trend that would be present for many years to follow. The public only knew about the exploits of great performances by New Zealand via media reports, as they were never able to see them in person. Often the New Zealand public would be updated via radio and newspaper reports of a day's play, or a match in its entirety, usually only a short time after these reports were published in the country New Zealand was touring. A regular occurrence on overseas tours for many touring teams were writers, who would be writing for newspapers, but would also publish a detailed account of the entirety of the tour upon its conclusion. The effect of having players like Sutcliffe

and Donnelly in the New Zealand side was a great boost to New Zealand cricket, but Donnelly only played seven Test matches, and they were all played overseas. To add to this, Donnelly only played a handful of first class games in New Zealand at the beginning and end of his career.

The impact of New Zealand finally possessing world class talent but exposure of it to the public being near inaccessible at times cannot be ignored. As previously noted, the calibre of players that had influenced English cricket, and even Australian cricket by the time New Zealand began playing in the international area had already been a crucial factor in developing a cricketing culture. Donnelly and Sutcliffe broke records and thrilled the English public, and former cricketers during the 1949 tour. As Martin-Jenkins (1980) notes: “Martin Donnelly was the best left-handed batsman in the world immediately after the Second World War and C.B. Fry volunteered that not one of the left-handers of his own day was superior” (p. 345). Sutcliffe’s career lasted longer than Donnelly’s, thus he was in a slightly different generation; Martin-Jenkins (1980) believes “Sutcliffe was probably, with Neil Harvey, the best left-handed batsman of his generation in the world” (p. 363). There is also reference to the greatness of Sutcliffe from many former cricketers, including Arthur Mailey, Herbert Sutcliffe, Ted Dexter, and J.R. Reid (Boock, 2010; Reid, 1966). Perhaps the most telling statement is by Jim Laker, the great former England bowler, who said “had he been born an Englishman or played county cricket he wouldn’t have been far behind his illustrious namesake” (p. 68)<sup>8</sup>.

The 1949 tour of England put New Zealand on the cricketing map. There was finally a comfort in knowing there was world class talent available, and young players such as J.R. Reid were beginning their international careers. The financial success of the tour was a huge bonus for New Zealand cricket, as a net profit of £15,000 was made from the tour (Mitchell, 1950). This allowed many future tours to be financed; success on the field was, however, still many years away.

### **How fan culture was affected**

Could the lack of first class cricket being played in New Zealand from its inception until arguably the 1970s, and the lack of international cricket being

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<sup>8</sup> Herbert Sutcliffe, of Yorkshire and England. Statistically Herbert Sutcliffe is one of the best opening batsman of all time.

played in New Zealand really have affected the way cricket fan culture in New Zealand is today? Certainly, there was a lack of international cricket played, but often famous moments in New Zealand cricket history did not occur in New Zealand. For example, Martin Donnelly's score of 206, the first double century by a New Zealander in Test cricket, was in London, at Lord's, during the 1949 tour of England, and Bert Sutcliffe's score of 230 not out was against India in Delhi in 1955 (Carman, 1971; Cotter, 1990; Cricinfo, n.d.-o, n.d.-t; Neely & Payne, 2008). This, along with the lack of first class cricket being available to the viewing public, as well as a continuation of poor results internationally, cannot be ignored regarding the development of a fan culture.

Arguably the best all-rounder to ever play for New Zealand, J.R. Reid, was scathing in his comments about the cricketing environment in the country around this period of time. In combination with the discussion Ryan (2005) presents, Reid (1966) paints a picture of how and why a cricketing fan culture struggled to develop any individuality and genuine patriotism. New Zealand won their first ever Test match in 1956, against the West Indies; it was the 45<sup>th</sup> Test match New Zealand had played (Carman, 1971; Cricinfo, n.d.-y; Neely & Payne, 2008; Ryan, 2005). The West Indies had already convincingly won the previous three Test matches in the series (Carman, 1971; Cricinfo, n.d.-g, n.d.-n, n.d.-v; Neely & Payne, 2008). However, there was no significant positive reaction to this initial victory; Ryan (2005) records how editors observed this victory, with one stating "[w]e have snatched a victory from them in a final Test when the keen edge of their endeavour was possibly a little dulled" (p. 28). Another noted how "[o]ne swallow does not make a summer, and one Test match victory in 30 years does not make New Zealand a top-class cricket country" (Ryan, 2005, p. 28). Reid (1966) provides context to this point of view via comments on the judgement passed on his score of 296 for Wellington versus Northern Districts, which included a then world record 15 sixes (in one innings):

After this innings was over, a typical New Zealand cricketing reaction was to be heard – it was a spectacular innings, all right, but the bowling had been terribly weak. My own innings, and this match, put aside for a moment – it is a pity that so many New Zealand cricket followers take that line. They are always prepared to believe that if any New Zealand player achieves something out of the ordinary, it

must be because the other players are no good. That attitude doesn't help our cricketers win the confidence they need (p. 67).

Could it be possible that for decade's cricket fans in New Zealand thought that the team that represented their country was not good enough to attain success without some sort of failing or weakness from the opposition? Or was cricket stuck in such a difficult space due to the success of rugby union in New Zealand, and the ideologies surrounding cricket itself? There were certainly culture clashes between the sports, as Glenn Turner found out first-hand many times through cynical support he received in New Zealand (Cairns & Turner, 1983). A good example of such support happened during a tour of the subcontinent in the summer of 1976-77 (Cairns & Turner, 1983). Turner had been hit in the forearm by Imran Khan during the second Test against Pakistan, Turner states that a similar injury:

had happened to me before, in England, and I'd tried hydrocortizone without it having any useful effect. The next test was in Karachi, and I found I couldn't hold that bat... So I declared myself unfit – the hardest decision I've had to make and the most unpopular. The side were grizzly as hell; [New Zealand manager] Chapple wouldn't talk to me for two days. It was the old New Zealand attitude: [All Black] Colin Meads plays with a broken arm and is to be admired; my attitude was that my playing, in my condition, would have been an insult to the substitutes (pp. 165-166).

This dynamic was present within the team itself; the amateur ethos that encapsulated New Zealand sport at the time was working with rugby, but it was arguably stalling cricket from making any real progress. The lack of success on the field also did not help this. Reid (1966) provides a comparison and contrast between rugby union and cricket in New Zealand regarding their success, positing that:

the very fact that the All Blacks have done well in the past gives the game an impetus which sustains the country – success, in other words, breeds success. New Zealand cricket suffers for the same reasons in reverse. Compared with all the other cricket-playing countries... there is a shortage of troops. And they are not an élite

corps partly because they have been defeated in battle so often, and so heavily (p. 134).

Reid (1966) also discusses how restrictive New Zealand cricket was at this time, and savagely critiques the first class cricket set up in the country at the time. According to Reid (1966), provincial cricket needed to be played harder to create an aggressive environment that would evolve onto the international scene, pitches needed improving, and the structure of the game all needed to be reviewed. It might be suggested that these problems had a lasting effect on cricketing culture in New Zealand. The most compelling argument made by Reid (1966) relates to the shortage of experience of cricketers produced in the country:

An English county player can have as many as sixty innings in a season, in those few summers which really earn the name. But even in the average English summer, a top batsman may play fifty innings: it may need six or seven or eight years for a New Zealand player to win that amount of practical experience. It may, in fact, be the equivalent of a whole career. Take, for instance, the former Otago captain, Lankford Smith. He never quite made the New Zealand team... and therefore had no overseas tours. But he seemed to be on the cricket scene for years. His first-class career, in fact, covered a period of twenty-four years... And in that time, he appeared in sixty first-class matches – two seasons, for an Englishman... Tom Graveney, for an example, is only one year my senior, and his career began in 1948, as did mine. I played 418 innings: so far Tom has had about 1,050. New Zealand's top run-maker, Bert Sutcliffe, in twenty-four years scored just over 17,000 runs. Bill Edrich, whose career spanned the same number of years, did not have as good an average as Bert – but he totted up on 37,000 runs (pp. 146-147).

Former New Zealand cricket John Wright also emphasises this difference, which was still present well over a decade later, determining that “[e]ach season in county cricket you play about 70 days of first-class cricket plus at least 20 one-day games in three competitions. One year there is the equivalent of three seasons in New Zealand” (Wright & Thomas, 1990, p. 21). This game-based limitation has been prevalent in New Zealand cricket for many decades, and in recent years the only middle ground of sorts being created is increased regularity in international cricket being played by all countries.

The graphs emphasise differences in playing opportunities for world class calibre players from both England and New Zealand (see Figures 1-4). They include world class calibre players from both England and New Zealand. In providing clarity regarding the number of first class and international fixtures played by these players, the graphs indicate the opportunities available for those wanting to watch professional cricket in-person. It is through such direct exposure that cultures of fandom develop. Prior to New Zealand playing international cricket, many greats of the English game had finished their playing careers. Grace and Ranji had finished their careers well before New Zealand were playing cricket at an international level, and Rhodes, Hobbs, Woolley, Larwood, and Hendren had finished their careers by the beginning of the Second World War; Sutcliffe and Hammond also retired soon after the ending of the War, with no cricket played in its duration (Cricinfo, n.d.-aj, n.d.-an, n.d.-ar, n.d.-as, n.d.-aw, n.d.-bb, n.d.-bh, n.d.-bp, n.d.-bq).

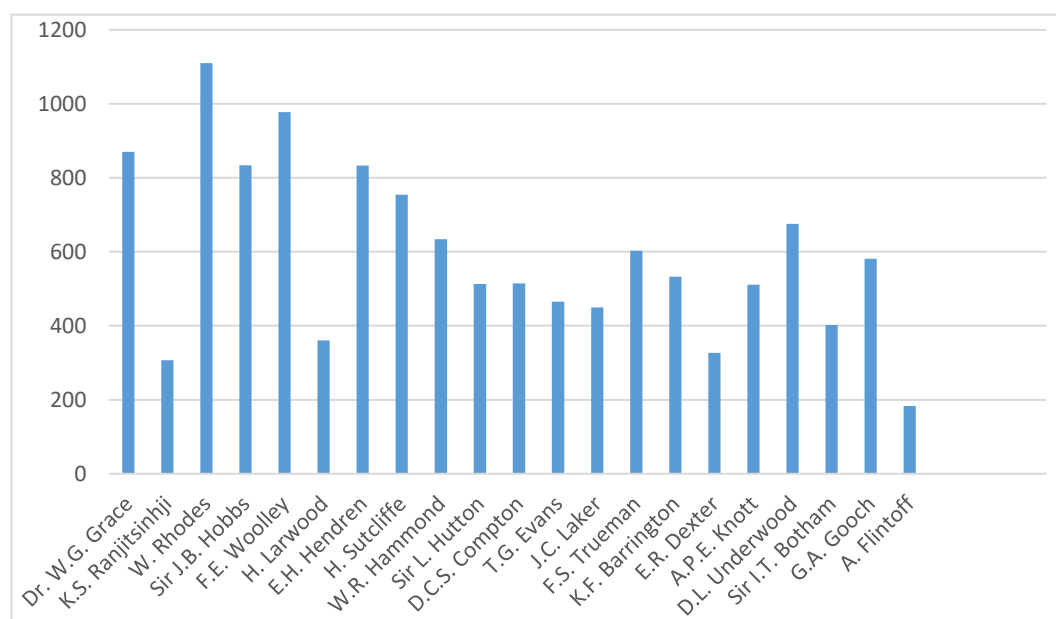


Figure 1: Number of first class games played by former (significant)

MCC/England Players

(Cricinfo, n.d.-ac, n.d.-ae, n.d.-ag, n.d.-at, n.d.-av, n.d.-ay, n.d.-az, n.d.-bf, n.d.-bj, n.d.-bk)

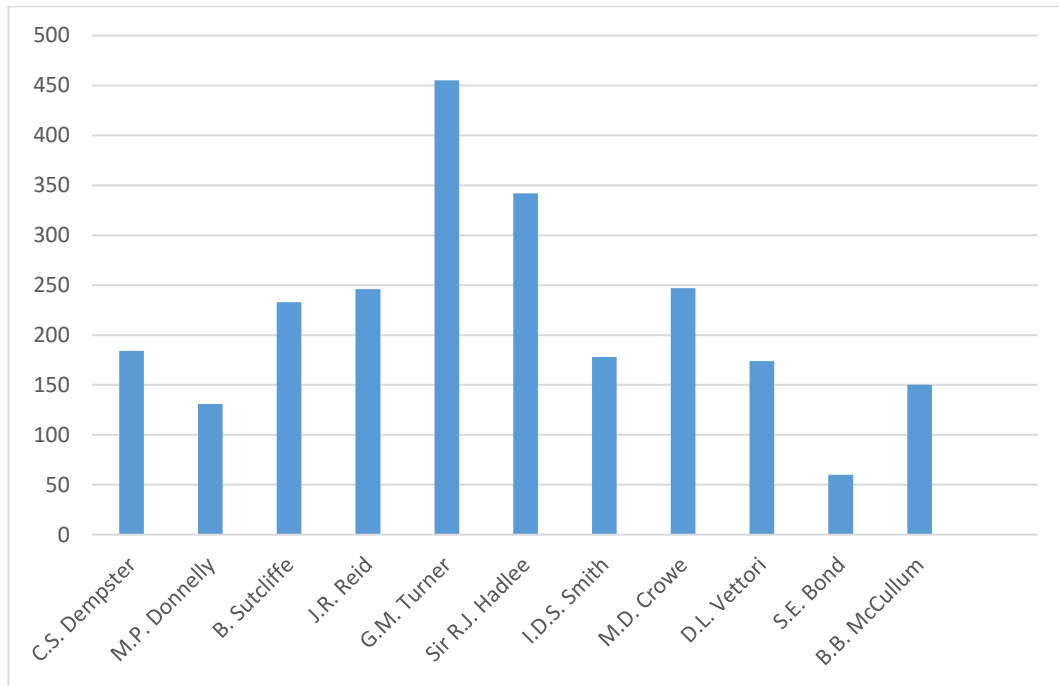


Figure 2: Number of first class games played by former (significant) New Zealand Players

(Cricinfo, n.d.-ac, n.d.-ae, n.d.-ag, n.d.-at, n.d.-av, n.d.-ay, n.d.-az, n.d.-bf, n.d.-bj, n.d.-bk)

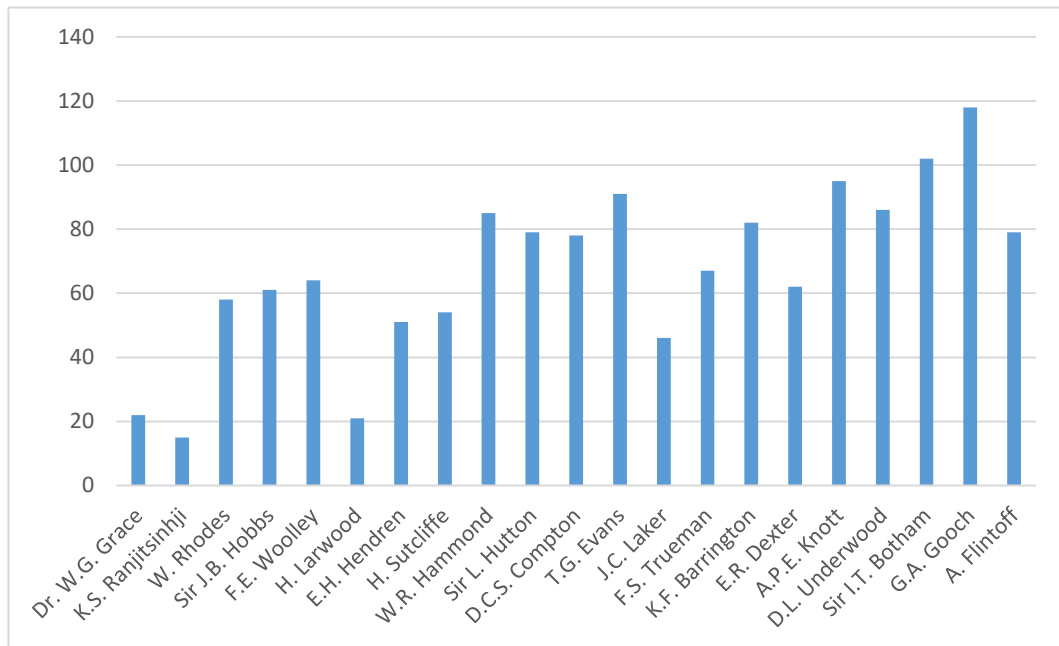


Figure 3: Number of Test matches played by former (significant) MCC/England Players

(Cricinfo, n.d.-aa, n.d.-ab, n.d.-ah, n.d.-ai, n.d.-aj, n.d.-an, n.d.-ao, n.d.-ap, n.d.-aq, n.d.-ar, n.d.-as, n.d.-au, n.d.-aw, n.d.-ax, n.d.-bb, n.d.-bg, n.d.-bh, n.d.-bi, n.d.-bl, n.d.-bp, n.d.-bq)



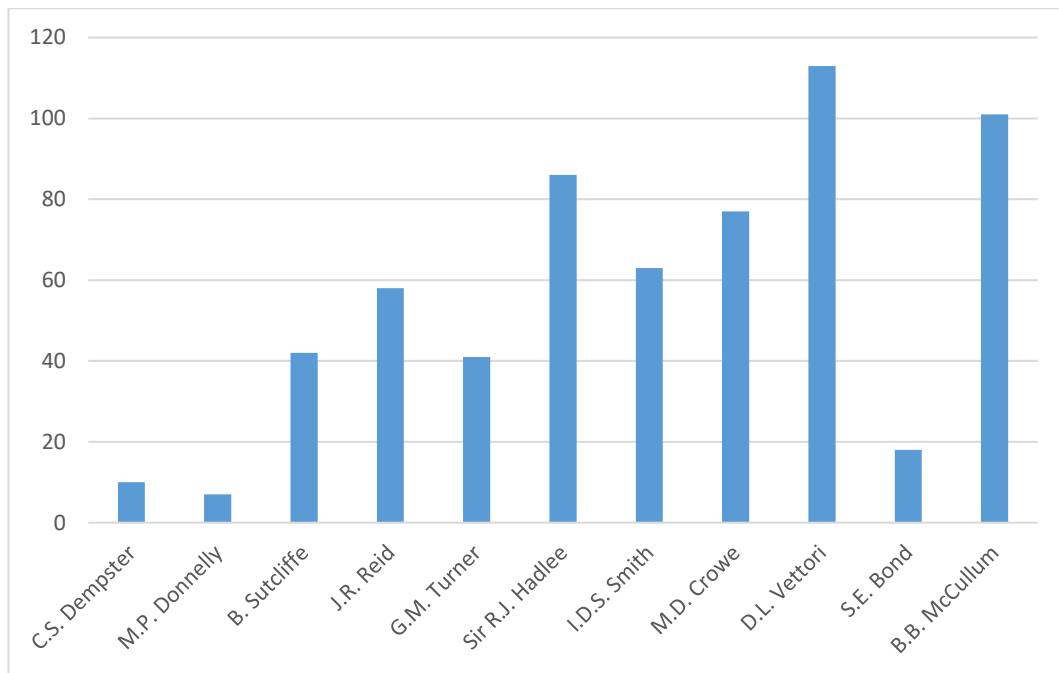


Figure 4: Number of Test matches played by former (significant) New Zealand Players

(Cricinfo, n.d.-ac, n.d.-ae, n.d.-ag, n.d.-at, n.d.-av, n.d.-ay, n.d.-az, n.d.-bf, n.d.-bj, n.d.-bk)

Players such as Ranji and Larwood of England, and Bond of New Zealand, missed significant portions of their careers due to injury, however the overall results are enlightening. Other factors also taken into account include the volume of Test (and international) cricket being played in comparison to yesteryear, and the role that central contracts for international players had in limiting the power county's or provinces had over players<sup>9</sup>. Comparison between the number of first class and Test matches played by the best English and New Zealand players over time provides context around the positionality of cricket fan culture in New Zealand and its development over time.

### Pre-New Zealand playing international cricket

There are noticeable trends in Figures 1 and 3. Historically, players all around the world were available more often for their county or province than they are today.

<sup>9</sup> Central contracts are what international cricket players are contracted under by their respective governing bodies. Previously, county or domestic teams (depending on the country) would have players under contract, then respective national governing bodies would select the national team(s), usually paying players separate to their domestic contracts.

Furthermore, the number of international fixtures has increased, a result of travel around the world being far easier and faster than in the past. Such time-space compression underpins why modern-day players tend to have played more Test matches than players of yesteryear, whilst players of yesteryear have played more first class matches than modern players.

The frustrations expressed by Reid (1966) provide a relevant context for these comparisons. Wilfred Rhodes of Yorkshire and England retired from cricket the same year New Zealand entered the international cricket arena: Rhodes played 1110 first class games; no-one in New Zealand cricket history to date has played anywhere near half that amount (Cricinfo, n.d.-bq). First class cricket was the most regular opportunity for the public to watch cricket during this time. The lack of first class cricket in New Zealand had an impact on the development of a cricket fan culture, and the timing of the Second World War certainly stagnated any possible progress that was present. This lack of a foundation for a cricket culture to develop continued for many years, whereas in England a solid foundation was not only present within the country as a whole regarding a fan culture, but it was also present within individual counties. Rae (1998) notes how in the 1860s the traditional varsity match between Cambridge and Oxford, and the Eton versus Harrow fixture, drew significant crowds, and throughout Dr. W.G. Grace's career tens of thousands turned up to see him play; even in his final Test match at Trent Bridge in Nottingham, 14,000 were present on the first day. Sutcliffe (1935) notes the magnitude of the 'Roses' fixtures between Yorkshire and Lancashire, explaining they have the same intensity as Test matches, whilst referring to one 'Roses' clash at Bradford where 15,000 people were estimated to have been turned away at the gate due to the venue already being full.

There was arguably not these kinds of numbers present at international fixtures in New Zealand until Australia toured in 1945-46, when 20,000 watched at the Basin Reserve in Wellington (Neely & Payne, 2008). This crowd was, however, an aberration as such fan engagement did not continue. In Australia the crowd numbers were on a monumental scale, in their numbers and hostility. Anywhere around the region of 70,000 were present for Test matches in Melbourne during the 1930s (Jardine, 1984; Sutcliffe, 1935). The hostility of the crowds was also unique, arguably due to the cricketing culture that had developed in the country,

which was seemingly a determined effort to be as unlike the English as possible; Douglas Jardine certainly had many clashes with the Australian crowds, being seen as the symbol of imperial order and everything English (Douglas, 1984; Jardine, 1984).

The exposure to high quality cricket is a recurring motif that defines contrasts between cricket in New Zealand and England. The limited engagement of New Zealand cricket fans with quality cricket continues to resonate, with contemporary evidence suggesting there is a lack of appreciation for when there is quality cricket that is accessible to the public. Tables 1 and 2 emphasise the difference in how much domestic cricket was played between New Zealand and England, thus showing how much less the public in New Zealand were able to see the best possible cricket<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Twenty20 cricket has not been included due to the majority of it being franchise based, therefore a significant amount of domestic T20 appearances are usually played all over the world, as opposed to only in the players home country.

Table 1: Average Number of First Class Games Played per Year by Former (significant) MCC/England Players

Player	Career Span	Years	Number of First Class Games Played	Number of List A Games Played	Average Number of Games Played per Year
Dr. W.G. Grace	1865-1908	43	870	0	20
K.S. Ranjitsinhji	1893-1920	27	307	0	11
W. Rhodes	1898-1930	32	1110	0	35
Sir J.B. Hobbs	1905-1934	29	834	0	29
F.E. Woolley	1906-1938	32	978	0	31
H. Larwood	1924-1938	14	361	0	26
E.H. Hendren	1907-1937	30	833	0	28
H. Sutcliffe	1919-1945	26	754	0	29
W.R. Hammond	1920-1951	31	634	0	20
Sir L. Hutton	1934-1955	21	513	0	24
D.C.S. Compton	1936-1964	28	515	0	18
T.G. Evans	1939-1967	28	465	0	17
J.C. Laker	1946-1965	19	450	0	24
F.S. Trueman	1949-1972	23	603	18	27
K.F. Barrington	1953-1968	15	533	14	36
E.R. Dexter	1956-1972	16	327	43	23
A.P.E. Knott	1964-1985	21	511	317	39
D.L. Underwood	1963-1987	24	676	411	45
Sir I.T. Botham	1974-1993	19	402	470	46
G.A. Gooch	1973-2000	27	581	613	44
A. Flintoff	1995-2009	14	183	282	33

5 All numbers in the 'Average Number of Games Played per Year' section have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 2: Average Number of First Class Games Played per Year by Former (significant) New Zealand Players

Player	Career Span	Years	Number of First Class Games Played	Number of List A Games Played	Average Number of Games Played Per year
C.S. Dempster	1921-1948	27	184	0	7
M.P Donnelly	1936-1961	25	131	0	5
B. Sutcliffe	1941-1966	25	233	0	9
J.R. Reid	1947-1965	18	246	0	14
G.M. Turner	1964-1983	19	455	313	40
Sir R.J. Hadlee	1971-1990	19	342	317	35
I.D.S. Smith	1977-1992	15	178	153	22
M.D. Crowe	1979-1996	17	247	261	30
D.L. Vettori	1996-2015	19	174	365	28
S.E. Bond	1996-2010	14	60	135	14
B.B. McCullum	1999-2016	17	150	309	27

All numbers in the 'Average Number of Games Played per Year' section have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

In terms of periods of time covered, there are several players within the English table that had finished their careers prior to any of the players on the New Zealand graph, but their tallies still serve a purpose. In terms of direct comparisons, Wally Hammond and Stewie Dempster played over a similar period of time. They also had six years of their careers halted by the Second World War. Hammond played for four more years than Dempster in total, but he played on average just over 13 more games a season than Dempster. These games were at the first class cricket/county cricket level, within which one game lasted three days (at this time); therefore, the public in England had accessibility to watch Hammond for nearly 40 more days of cricket per year. Adding to this, Dempster played a significant amount of his first class cricket in England, for Leicestershire and later Warwickshire, meaning the New Zealand public only saw a fraction of the career of one of the country's greatest ever batsman. Herbert Sutcliffe's career also spanned a similar period of time to Dempster's, but Sutcliffe played on average just over 22 more first class games per year than Dempster. That could be up to 66 more days the public could watch Sutcliffe play per year.

Sir Leonard Hutton and Denis Compton both had careers at roughly the same time as Martin Donnelly, however, the public were able to see Hutton play around 19 more games per year than Donnelly, meaning nearly 60 more days of cricket, and 13 more games, or nearly 40 more days of cricket for Compton. To add to this, Donnelly only played a handful of first class games in New Zealand at the very beginning of his career as a young man before he was well known within the cricketing world; he played the majority of his first class cricket for Oxford University, Warwickshire, and Middlesex. J.R. Reid and Jim Laker had almost an identical length of career, however, Laker played on average more an extra ten first class fixtures per year; up to 30 days of cricket. Glenn Turner and Alan Knott equate to a similar outcome, but this is due to Turner playing county cricket for Worcestershire for over a decade, thus making the number of games he played a similar amount to most English players. But again, this meant he played the majority of his career overseas, a recurring trend with New Zealand's best players of this time due to the professional lifestyle cricket could offer in England but not New Zealand. Sir Richard Hadlee forged a successful career for Nottinghamshire, meaning he too played a lot of first class cricket overseas, but he also produced world class performances for New Zealand on the international stage.

## **Conclusion**

It is clear that the persistence of Victorian and British values to be maintained in cricket in New Zealand was detrimental in terms of on field success, once New Zealand was admitted into the international cricket stage. The logistical factors that Ryan (2004) notes also impacted this. Once New Zealand began playing international cricket, the results on the field were a metaphor for the structure, ethos, and stature of the game off the field. On reflection, it was arguably a no-win situation for New Zealand cricket prior to World War Two. No one at the time would have predicted a global conflict to begin within a decade of New Zealand first playing international cricket, however, this most likely would have stalled any progress made prior to the commencement of war; if there was any progress.

Results show that New Zealand were a weak cricketing nation prior to World War Two, and combined with the attachment to Britain at this time in New Zealand, this led to an outpouring of admiration towards the touring MCC teams in the 1930s, especially in 1932-33 (Douglas, 1984; Jardine, 1984; Sutcliffe, 1935). New Zealand had a chance to start over in terms of their perception as a cricketing nation post-World War Two, but similar problems that occurred pre-World War Two were still present. A lack of world class players combined with minimal first class cricket played meant player development was extremely poor. This meant relying on the rare naturally gifted player in the New Zealand team to save them from regular embarrassment.

The 'Golden Era' was a crucial time in cricket history. It was arguably when the game was at its peak. The development of techniques upon which the foundation of cricketing knowledge is based today can trace its roots back to this time in history. By missing this period of time within cricket, the game in New Zealand was always destined to begin slowly. There was no chance in terms of developing cricket in a new or unique fashion, much like what happened in the Indian subcontinent, as playing conditions in New Zealand have always been similar to that in Britain. Early ideologies of cricket in New Zealand contrasted to that of other popular sports in the country, especially rugby union. The success of the tour of England in 1949 by the New Zealand side was certainly a confidence

boost, but the infrastructure of cricket in New Zealand was still very backward and this negatively impacted progression for a number of years. Developing a cricket fan culture in New Zealand was a constant struggle for decades post-World War Two. A lack of on field success in combination with cultural clashes between cricket and the general sporting philosophies present in New Zealand at the time did not mix well.



## Chapter Four: Development of Success

This chapter will examine the stature of cricket in New Zealand up to the late 1970s, a period during which the sport began to change. The previous sections have set a platform from which to begin basing judgement of contemporary cricket fan culture in New Zealand. This next period of time that will be researched will identify when the cultural shift from a very pro-British stance to a more unique, organic, philosophy began to grow in New Zealand cricket.

New Zealand remained firmly committed to continuing its close relationship with Britain until at least the late 1960s (Belich, 2001; Ryan, 2005). On the cricketing front, New Zealand's first victory in Test cricket, in the summer of 1955-56, was quickly dismissed by other events in the 1950s, such as Edmund Hillary becoming the first person to climb Mount Everest, the All Blacks defeating South Africa for the first time, and the athletic success New Zealand had at Olympic Games (Ryan, 2005). New Zealand cricket remained in the shadow of other sporting achievements in the country (Ryan, 2005). This was especially apparent because of the success and dominance of the All Blacks; Ryan (2005), explains that:

rugby strengthened its place at the core of a set of interlocking myths about the distinctive egalitarian and pragmatic (masculine) qualities of New Zealand society, cricket epitomised a lingering strand of cultural Britishness and dependence... cricket remained until about the late 1970s bound to a conservative preoccupation with the best amateur virtues of the English game (pp. 28-29).

After New Zealand's first victory in Test cricket there was another period of failure on the field. From the first victory against the West Indies in 1956, it was another six year wait for another win (New Zealand won two Tests during the 1961-62 tour of South Africa), then another six year wait for another Test win (Cricinfo, n.d.-u, n.d.-z; McConnell, 2002; Neely & Payne, 2008). This stagnation of Test match victories was present until the 1980s. The weakness of the New Zealand side overall did not go unnoticed in world cricket. Former England batsman Tom Graveney described the standard of New Zealand cricket during the MCC tour of New Zealand in the summer of 1954-55, reporting that the leg of the tour was an anti-climax following the Ashes series in Australia of which they had

just been part of (Graveney, 1958). According to Graveney (1958), the England side:

found the cricket standard of New Zealand only little higher than that of the good English club, as was instanced by the fact that they were shot out for 26 on a wicket far from bad. Their best players are Bert Sutcliffe and Jack Reid, both of whom would be far better if they played in a higher class of cricket. Sutcliffe, in fact, is not as good as he was when he was in England in 1949 as their star batsman... These observations led me to the conclusion that the New Zealanders and five-day Test cricket just had nothing in common... Presumably it would be considered a slight if it were suggested officially that they were not ready for five-day matches, yet would it be? Can one really expect them to produce world-shattering cricket sides with their resources? (p. 134).

This situation was present during the post-war era of cricket in New Zealand, and it took a long time for any progression to occur; even during the next two decades this association with New Zealand cricket was still present. Bailey (1976) questioned that arguably the greatest all-rounder in the history of the game, Sir Garfield Sobers of the West Indies, did not perform well against New Zealand because he did not see them as a challenge:

Of all the countries Gary has played Test cricket against, he has been the least successful with the bat against New Zealand. This is surprising as they are certainly not the most powerful... I have an idea one of the reasons, without being disrespectful to New Zealand attacks, or their cricket, is that they have been a side the West Indies always expected to beat and that this caused Gary, quite unintentionally, to relax a little (p. 88).

It was not until the 1980s that New Zealand began to win in the Test arena consistently. This was arguably down to many reasons, however, the influence of increased professionalism cannot be ignored.

## **Impact of Professionalism**

The stigma that was attached to the professional cricketer in New Zealand began in the late 1960s when Glenn Turner began to develop into a world class batsman.

Turner clashed with the NZCC at the time over views regarding professional cricketers (Cairns & Turner, 1983; Ryan, 2005). Former New Zealand professional cricketer (and former New Zealand coach) John Wright confirms this view (Wright & Thomas, 1990). During his time as a professional with Derbyshire in county cricket, Wright experienced negativity around his role as a professional while playing in the New Zealand side during the late 1970s:

In those days the New Zealand cricket fraternity didn't exactly greet its professionals with open arms. The cool reaction of the non-professionals in the New Zealand team surprised me... Perhaps because of Glenn Turner's professional attitude to remuneration for playing for New Zealand, the non-pros thought of the pros as different, as people who wanted special treatment, and I got lumped in with Turner, Geoff Howarth, and Richard Hadlee (p. 16).

The shift from an amateur ethos towards a sustainable professional one had to happen for New Zealand cricket to progress. The on-field success of Richard Hadlee throughout the 1980s gave New Zealand respectability in the cricketing world. However, the lateness in comparison with other developed cricketing nations regarding professionalism arguably determines that New Zealand cricket is now only beginning to develop a sustainable model of success. The difficulties surrounding defining cricket fan culture in New Zealand are tied in with this complex period in New Zealand's cricketing history. The history of the game in New Zealand has had a considerable impact on the cricketing culture in the present day, but arguably the combination of persistent English ideologies surrounding the game, a lack of on-field success, and questioning the developing professional nature of the game has combined to only allow cricket fan culture to start to become definable in essence in the present day.

## **Conclusion**

It took a considerable amount of time for cricket in New Zealand to begin achieving successful results on the international stage more regularly. The biggest influence on this was professionalism. New Zealand cricket lacked a professional structure off the field which other successful cricketing countries had; once ideologies about professionalism began seeping into New Zealand cricket through

players, they were quickly stopped due to the apparent controversy surrounding them. The culture clash of amateurism emerged, a sporting culture in New Zealand that had brought incredible success on other sporting fronts, however, in cricket, if an amateur ethos was going to continue, cricket would never prosper. A professional attitude to the game enabled New Zealand cricket to begin to prosper and have on field success. Arguably, the culture clash between professional and amateur environments led to a realisation that in order for New Zealand cricket to be successful, its players needed to be treated like professionals to play like professionals.

## Chapter Five: Data Collection

Data collection was undertaken during five cricket fixtures during the 2017-18 summer. This comprised of two One Day International games, one first class game, and two ‘tour’ matches; a potential total of ten days of cricket. However, this was reduced to eight days as the first class fixture I attended finished within three days due to a result occurring, and I was unable to attend one day of one of the final tour game (see Table 3). These fixtures were:

Table 3: Fixtures Attended

<b>Date(s)</b>	<b>Format</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Home Team</b>	<b>Away Team</b>	<b>Result</b>
15/11/2017-17/11/2017	First class	Seddon Park, Hamilton	Northern Districts	Auckland	Auckland won by 8 wickets
16/1/2018	ODI	Seddon Park, Hamilton	New Zealand	Pakistan	New Zealand won by 5 wickets
25/2/2018	ODI	Seddon Park, Hamilton	New Zealand	England	New Zealand won by 3 wickets
14/3/2018-15/3/2018	Day/Night Tour Match (2 day)	Seddon Park, Hamilton	New Zealand XI	England	Match Drawn
16/3/2018-17/3/2018	Tour Match (2 day)	Seddon Park, Hamilton	New Zealand XI	England	Match Drawn

Throughout all of the fixtures attended I was able to collect data from seven New Zealand cricket fans, as well as added data from observing crowds as a whole. The main method used for data collection was participant observation. This

method has both benefits and flaws depending on the context of the research. Within a cricket setting, it proved to be immensely difficult to obtain a significant amount of data, as the effect of a cricket ground being a public space and peoples own personal boundaries combined to make data collection difficult. As most cricket fans watched the games in groups of friends, it was near impossible to break down any barriers in order to obtain data that was not contrived. Schwartz and Schwartz (1955) define this problem, positing that “[t]he mere presence of the observer means that movements are made and orientations are developed toward him which would not otherwise have occurred” (p. 346). This problem was emphasised, as during the ODI fixtures the crowd was highly congested, thus meaning it was near impossible to intrude on other groups of fans who had defined their own boundaries within the ground itself; in contrast, during the first class fixture and both tour games, the distinct lack of fans present meant it was just as difficult to approach individuals.

As a technique and research method, participant observation is a focal point within all social sciences (Vidich, 1955). This however, does not mean it is without weaknesses. Despite Laurier (2010) arguing that “[p]articipant observation is perhaps the easiest method in the world to use since it is ubiquitous and we can all already do it” (p. 116), it can have its difficulties. Spradley (1980) discusses the differences between the ordinary participant and the participant observer. It was imperative for this data collection to encompass all of the factors that aligned within the definition of participant observer provided by Spradley (1980). This was due to the many complexities and social situations present within a cricket ground whilst a game is being played. Participant observation is a method of research largely used in cultural anthropology throughout the late twentieth and early twentieth centuries, but it has no become a method of qualitative research in a number of disciplines (De Walt & De Walt, 2011). Qualitative data was the main data collected, and the most important information that was recorded is in the data interpretation below, however some quantitative data was also collected in order to discuss the greater context of cricket fandom within the relationship between individual fans and the crowd as a whole.

## **A Background: My personal relationship with cricket**

Cricket has been part of my life since I can remember. My father recollects throwing a tennis ball to me in the hallway of our house when I was 18 months old, and me repeatedly hitting hit back to him. I was most likely hooked from this point onwards. I enjoyed playing many sports growing up, however cricket was intoxicating to me. I am a constant student of the game, aiming to learn as much about it as possible, and it has presented me with some great opportunities in life. I have been coached by some great names within cricket, and soaked up any knowledge I could. Playing cricket has enabled me to play against international opposition in Zimbabwe in warm up games before the 2015 ICC World Cup as part of a Northern Districts XI, and given me a chance to live and play cricket overseas in the United Kingdom.

## **Challenges Present: How to get the most out of data collection**

I knew prior to the data collection itself that there would be difficulties. I had been to many international and domestic cricket matches as a fan, and from recollection alone, I knew that the crowd dynamics at cricket games in New Zealand would certainly not make data collection an easy task. The first game I attended during which I collected data was the Northern Districts versus Auckland, Plunket Shield game, at Seddon Park, Hamilton. This was done from 15 November to 17 November 2017. There were far fewer crowd numbers than I expected, but I still obtained relevant data. However, I knew the international fixtures I was going to attend in the beginning of the following year would be different, as near capacity crowds would be present, especially in the ODI's. In order to gain an understanding of what would be the best method to undertake participant observation at ODI fixtures involving New Zealand, I attended the first ODI between New Zealand and the West Indies at Cobham Oval, Whangarei, on 20 December, 2017.

## **New Zealand versus West Indies: Constructing methods**

I attended this game with my father; I aimed to remove myself from the position of being a fan to being an observer. Immediately I began to notice the differences in perception in terms of spaces inhabited by fans, on both a large and a small scale, and the difficulties that arose from this. On a large scale, there was clear definition between fans who were consuming alcohol and those who were not, as these fans began partake in intoxicated behaviour as the day progressed. The Tui Brewery 'Catch a Million' competition was running throughout the summer. In this competition, fans positioned themselves where they thought a six would be hit into the crowd; if the ball was caught in one hand, the person catching the ball was eligible to win a share of a \$1 million prize pool. Given the number of people wanting this opportunity, the striking of a six tended to result in a melee of people fighting for the best catching position.

Outside of these collections of fans, I closely observed other fan types in order to obtain as much prior knowledge as possible in order to formulate the best method for data collection in future fixtures. What was obvious on close inspection was the personal barriers present amongst large and small groups, and even individuals. Groups of all sizes kept to themselves, it seemed the smaller the group the bigger the barrier present. These were not physical barriers, but personal space barriers. By closely watching fans all over the ground, it became immediately clear who was within their group. I then challenged these ideas against where my father and myself were seated, and noticed the same things. Fans only interacted amongst their own groups, and rarely spoke to other fans outside of their groups, even others sitting next to, or in close proximity to them.

## **Obtaining information: How to break down barriers present**

I brainstormed extensively following the New Zealand versus West Indies ODI attended. I would be attending ODI fixtures to collect data at Seddon Park, Hamilton, where I have watched cricket many times previously. The layout of the ground would be beneficial for data collection as it was more dispersed than Cobham Oval, and it is easier to access more parts of the ground. The biggest challenge I faced was breaking down barriers of fans, otherwise I would not be



able to collect any data. I came to the conclusion that as an individual it would be near impossible to collect data from fans as my inquisitive behaviour would be seen as intrusive. I had already gained ethical approval from the University of Waikato to collect data in a covert and overt manner, and watching from a distance could have the potential to produce quality data, but talking to fans would guarantee it. A combination of both would always be required, as it would be impossible to talk to fans continuously for the duration of a whole match.

I had already attended the Northern Districts versus Auckland fixture with 'Person A', who I had already known prior to attending this game with them. 'Person A' was due to attend the next two ODI fixtures at Seddon Park, between New Zealand and Pakistan, and New Zealand and England. I knew if I attended these games with 'Person A', that there would be a chance they would see friends of theirs, thus giving myself an opportunity to break down potential barriers of fans. This is what ended up happening during the fixture between New Zealand and England, but not New Zealand and Pakistan. However, during the New Zealand versus Pakistan game, it gave me a chance to put into practice a formulation I had hypothesised earlier regarding crowd behaviour, and how to collect and interpret data from it; which will be demonstrated in the data interpretation of these fixtures.

I also endeavoured to obtain data from another source. I contacted the *Beige Brigade*, who define themselves as "a bunch of everyday chaps from heartland New Zealand... who believe clamorous, optimistic, boisterous support is what every New Zealand cricket team needs" (Brigade, n.d.). They are a cult following of New Zealand cricket, and are often seen as a representation of cricket supporters in New Zealand. I received a positive reply one day after my enquiry, which led to an arrangement to have a discussion with a co-founder of the *Beige Brigade* four days later. I sent a confirmation message earlier in the day of which I was going to ring the co-founder for a discussion and did not receive a response. Therefore I decided it would be too intrusive to make the phone call. Two weeks later I sent another message, enquiring as to whether the co-founder I had been conversing with would still be interesting in having a conversation. Nine days later I received a very positive reply, with an arrangement of having a conversation that very afternoon. I called the co-founder that afternoon and my

call went to their answer phone, to which I left a polite message stating it would be great if they could call me back, or to let me know some other time that would suit them. I did not receive any response.

## Participants

Table 4 outlines information on the participants I was able to collect data from throughout the fixtures I attended:

Table 4: List of Participants

<b>Name</b>	<b>Estimated Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Fixture(s) Attended</b>
Person A	Mid 20s	Male	Northern Districts versus Auckland, New Zealand versus Pakistan, New Zealand versus England
Person B	Late 20s	Male	New Zealand versus England
Person C	Late 20s/Early 30s	Male	New Zealand versus England
Person D	No older than 20	Male	New Zealand versus England
Person E	No older than 20	Male	New Zealand versus England
Person F	In their 60s	Male	New Zealand XI versus England XI (Day/Night)
Person G	Early 50s	Male	New Zealand XI versus England XI

## Map of Seddon Park

Where I collected data from participants during fixtures attended:

- Northern Districts versus Auckland: Black
- New Zealand versus Pakistan: White
- New Zealand versus England: Yellow
- New Zealand XI versus England XI (day/night): Blue
- New Zealand XI versus England XI: Orange



Figure 5: Map of Seddon Park

Source: (Hamilton City Council, 2018)

## **Northern Districts vs Auckland, Plunket Shield**

*Northern Districts versus Auckland, Plunket Shield, 15 November to 17 November 2017, Seddon Park, Hamilton.*

I attended the three days of this fixture and was planning to attend the fourth day but there was a result during the third day. I attended the first two days with ‘Person A’, with whom I would later attend two more ODI fixtures. I also used the three days of this fixture to begin constructing a method regarding the collection of data from other fans. Over the three days I began to realise the difficulties surrounding this. The main motif that was present during data collection in this fixture from discussion with ‘Person A’ was a one of confusion. This is largely due to the paramount lack of attendance by the public, despite the number of international cricketers returning to their first class associations for this round of the Plunket Shield. ‘Person A’, along with myself, were able to contrast this fixture with other first class games we had attended in the England; which produce alarming results.

In this round of Plunket Shield fixtures, New Zealand players were released back to play for their associations in preparation for the upcoming Test matches against the West Indies. This meant for this fixture in particular, both Northern Districts and Auckland played far stronger sides than they normally did, in particular Northern Districts who had a number of New Zealand players return. The Northern Districts side had only two members of their playing 11 who had not played international cricket for New Zealand in James Baker and Tim Seifert; there were six current New Zealand players in BJ Watling, Kane Williamson, Mitchell Santner, Tim Southee, Ish Sodhi, and Trent Boult (Cricinfo, n.d.-bc). There were three players who had previously played for New Zealand in Daniel Flynn, Anton Devcich, and Scott Kuggeleijn (Cricinfo, n.d.-bc). Later in the summer Tim Seifert also made his debut for New Zealand. James Baker has also represented a New Zealand XI in a first class fixture and went on to make another appearance for a New Zealand XI again later in the summer (Cricinfo, n.d.-bn, n.d.-bo). Many of these New Zealand representatives returning to play this fixture for Northern Districts were also high quality international cricketers. Auckland

had four current New Zealand representatives in Jeet Raval, Martin Guptill, Colin Munro, and Colin De Grandhomme, one former New Zealand representative in Glenn Phillips, and Mark Chapman would make his debut for New Zealand later in the summer (Cricinfo, n.d.-bc). Thus, ten of 22 players on the field were currently playing for New Zealand, 14 of 22 players had played or were currently playing for New Zealand, and by the end of the summer, 16 of the 22 players in this fixture had played or were currently playing for New Zealand. These numbers in terms of international players playing in one first class fixture anywhere in the world are incredibly rare.

Given the rarity of this cricketing occasion, with essentially international quality cricket to be seen, and free entry over the whole duration of the game, it would be expected that a healthy crowd should be in attendance. That was not the case. From my own observation, there was no more than twenty fans in the entire ground at one time. The fans that did turn up rarely came as individuals to watch, usually in pairs or groupings. Therefore making approaching groups uncomfortable as they define their own personal space in the public space that is a cricket ground, and any intrusion quickly establishes discomfort and contrived data.

‘Person A’ spent most of the two days they attended dumbfounded. They could simply not fathom the lack of attendance. And upon further discussion as to why they thought this might be the case, ‘Person A’ could not come up with a solid reason, as they were almost lost for words, and there was a sense of frustration surrounding the tone of ‘Person A’. The most enlightening sentence ‘Person A’ said was: “This is probably the highest quality of first class cricket being played in the world at the moment, and no one is here. I can’t believe it. There are world class players playing; Williamson, Boult... Sodhi. And it’s free to get in!” During further discussion with ‘Person A’, they bought up attending a County Championship game in England the previous English summer. The game was between Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, at New Road, Worcester. ‘Person A’ noted how the quality of the cricket was significantly worse than what we were currently witnessing in front of us, yet, they said the ground was full on the day they attended; it was sold out and only through the generosity of the gentleman at the entrance were they let in. Through researching this game, it lasted four days

from a Monday to a Thursday, and the Monday was a bank holiday Monday, therefore attendance would likely be higher on this day<sup>11</sup>. 'Person A' likely attended the fixture on this day, however it was never brought up in discussion. The quality of players present during this fixture 'Person A' attended was significantly lower than the Northern Districts versus Auckland game I attended with 'Person A'. Worcestershire only possessed one current international cricketer in their overseas player, India's Ravichandran Ashwin, and Gloucestershire had only one former international cricketer in Phil Mustard, who only played ten ODI's for England and a two Twenty20 international's, and Cameron Bancroft was their overseas player who would go on to make his debut for Australia only three months after this fixture. The judgement of 'Person A' was convincing in their confirmation that the Northern Districts vs Auckland game was of a far higher standard. The fixture I attended with 'Person A' was intended to be from a Tuesday to a Friday, however it finished on the Thursday. Also, the location of Seddon Park as a ground is very central within the Hamilton city area, but there was no influx of spectators towards the end of each days play when usual working hours would finish. I also discussed one of my own recollections whilst I was also in England. I attended a domestic one day fixture between Yorkshire and Leicestershire at Headingley in Leeds. Upon reviewing this fixture online, the contrast in attendance is alarming.

This Yorkshire vs Leicestershire fixture was held on a Monday in August; despite not being a bank holiday Monday, the attendance was 4,021 (Cricinfo, 3/8/15). Regarding the attendance of the Worcestershire versus Gloucestershire game 'Person A' attended, the capacity of New Road in Worcester is 5,500; therefore if the day 'Person A' attended was 'sold out' it would be safe to assume the number in attendance was around this number. In order to add emphasise the crowd attendance, population percentages in attendance can be looked at. Ryan (2004) has done a similar comparison in a historical context. However, it is important to emphasise the lack of attendance in this case. In the fixture 'Person A' attended at New Road, Worcester, the percentage of the Worcester (city) population that attended was around 5 percent; the bank holiday would have impacted this, but it is still conclusive evidence (Worcestershire County Council, n.d.). Regarding the

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<sup>11</sup> Bank holidays are public holidays in the United Kingdom.

fixture I attended at Headingley, Leeds, the percentage of population that attended was around half of one percent, and during the Northern Districts versus Auckland fixture, the percentage of the population that attended was around one tenth of one percent (UK, n.d). This evidence alone is conclusive regarding interest of the public. If the same percentage of people attended the Northern Districts versus Auckland fixture as were present at the Worcestershire versus Gloucestershire game, there would have been around 8,000 people present (Hamilton City Council, n.d.).

## **New Zealand versus Pakistan, One Day International**

*New Zealand versus Pakistan, One Day International, 16/1/18, Seddon Park, Hamilton.*

This was the fourth of five ODI's between New Zealand and Pakistan. 'Person A' proved to have a sound cricketing knowledge, based on empirical judgement. This provided the information collected from 'Person A' to be of an objective, educated, and non-biased background. It was a unique paradigm from which 'Person A' viewed the game, as judgements were made on all things that encapsulated the theatre of limited overs cricket.

Upon arriving to the ground shortly after the start of play, 'Person A' was quick to identify an area of the ground to sit and view the game from. Certain factors played into this, such as shade, the view of the pitch in relation to watching position, and how many other fans were present in the area. These judgements were made from historical recollection and understanding the angles from which the game can be viewed.

'Person A' and myself were seated in a section of the grandstand on the northern side of the ground, which provided a view of all the embankment seating sections. This provided an excellent view from which to covertly watch how New Zealand cricket fans were interpreting this space and place, and how they inhabited it.

Diverse types of fans were positioning themselves in different areas, all for several reasons. On both main embankment sections on the southern side of the ground, vast quantities of alcohol were being consumed. The alcohol and food vendors were positioned behind the sight screen of the southern end of the ground, in between the two main embankments. There was almost a diffusion of concentrated alcohol consumers from the inner sections of both embankments to the outer sections, as there would be less distance to walk to purchase more refreshments and/or food. The toilets were also positioned in this part of the ground, as well as an entrance and exit from the ground. Accessibility is the main factor in positionality of these fans. From observation and positioning myself in this area at a later fixture, it is incredibly rare to find a fan who is seated on the embankment on their own. All 'individual' fans, fans who have come to watch a fixture by themselves, most commonly sit in the grandstand during international fixtures. The groups of fans that position themselves on the embankment constructed an interesting epistemology of viewing cricket through my observation (this will be discussed in detail later in this chapter). They are placing accessibility to amenities, including alcohol, drinking water access, and toilets as a higher priority than having the best possible angle from which to watch the game. It is arguably a case of: alcohol over watching the game. Certainly, the view of the game is not terrible from the embankment(s), but the atmosphere is certainly not the traditional cricketing environment that is found at a county fixture at the height of summer, deckchairs, sandwiches, and tea.

As intoxication increases, volume increases, reactions to events in the game increase, and most certainly, impartiality decreases. The 'Catch a Million' competition run by Tui Brewery has certainly concentrated these types of areas within cricket grounds around the country, as zones had to be created as there could have been risk for potential injury as fans in orange shirts clamoured over everything in sight aiming to catch a six struck during play one handed to claim a share of the \$1 million prize. What was prevalent within these areas of the ground is the evolving intensity of partisan nature during the game. There is cheering, applauding, and acknowledgement throughout the game, but as the game progresses, and more alcohol is consumed, the intensity of support increases. In a way focus is almost heightened with the purpose of being mentally aware when something important in the game happens in order to have clarity as what to cheer



about. There is an intensity present of wanting New Zealand to win, no matter how good or bad the quality of cricket is from New Zealand and/or the opposition. This was further emphasised throughout discussion with 'Person A'.

'Person A', was extremely objective and knowledgeable about cricket. This constructed their determination on what they thought was good or bad within the game, and there was no ambivalence present. This proved to be a contrast to the majority of the crowd present, as certain events during the game excited 'Person A', yet there was no excitement and often no awareness from the majority of the rest of the crowd about these events. 'Person A' applauded what they deemed to be a good shot, a good delivery bowled, or a good piece of fielding from either New Zealand or Pakistan. Whereas there were many other instances during the game where Pakistan as a team, or an individual player from Pakistan produced something worthy of applause, yet there was hardly a murmur of applause of the majority of the crowd. When Pakistan took a New Zealand wicket, no matter how good the cricket was they produced, there was hardly any applause towards Pakistan, as disappointment and frustration echoed around Seddon Park.

There were numerous instances throughout the game where the actions and dialogue of 'Person A' contrasted with most of the crowd. An attempt to dissect these will be made in order to provide contrast to better understand the popular fan culture, as well as discussion surrounding further dialogue by 'Person A', that will be used to contrast more intricate discussion with an individual fan who fits into the more stereotypical New Zealand cricket fan mould present in this research. Key factors that were present within the fan ideologies of 'Person A' will also be attempted to be unravelled, as they can begin to provide a framework to separate fan types within New Zealand cricket fan culture.

The most obvious trait of 'Person A' that contrasted the majority of the crowd was what they judged worthy of praise and/or applause. It was clear that 'Person A' was more excited about observing what they judged to be passages of play, or pieces of cricket that they thought were of a high standard no matter what team produced them. This contrasted the behaviour and judgement of most of the New

Zealand fans in the crowd. Many instances occurred in the first innings when Pakistan were batting, and there were excellent shots played by some of the Pakistani batsman. ‘Person A’ expressed excitement and admiration in much the same way as other cricket fans in general do, but they were certainly in the minority for most of the game. Person ‘A’ tended to exercise praise when a shot hit by a batsman was technically efficient, and aesthetically pleasing to the eye. What contrasted in the first innings when Pakistan were batting however, was that when a more technically correct shot was played, unless it went for four, or on the odd occasion, six runs, there was no collective reaction from the rest of the crowd. Often there was a resounding groan of disappointment or collective silence from the crowd when Pakistan hit a boundary. ‘Person A’ often was the only fan present within the vicinity of where we were sitting to applaud these shots, and by keeping a watchful eye around the rest of the ground it was difficult to note any other fans doing anything contrary from a distance. There were also times when the applause and/or admiration from ‘Person A’ was simultaneous with the majority of the crowd, which happened to be when most boundaries were hit by New Zealand batsman, or when a player bought up a milestone (in this fixture only half centuries were made by batsman). Table 5 notes the contrasts in applause and/or admiration between ‘Person A’ and the majority of the crowd during Pakistan’s batting innings.

Table 5: Reaction Comparison between ‘Person A’ and the crowd during Pakistan’s batting Innings

	Boundary	(Other) Runs	Dot Ball	Wicket
Reaction from ‘Person A’	10	13	7	1
Reaction from the crowd	3	2	6	8

This table expresses a partisan nature from the crowd, but it also provides a contrast for New Zealand’s batting innings, as shown in table 6.

Table 6: Reaction Comparison between ‘Person A’ and the crowd during New Zealand’s batting Innings

	Boundary	(Other) Runs	Dot Ball	Wicket
Reaction from ‘Person A’	5	5	5	3
Reaction from the crowd	30	3	0	0

The biggest figure of note is the difference in reaction to boundaries hit, as every boundary in the New Zealand innings was reacted to in a positive manner, whereas only three from the Pakistan innings were reacted to in a similar but more reluctant way. The same principle applies with the wickets fallen. Every Pakistan wicket fallen produced a positive response from the crowd, whereas no New Zealand wickets produced a positive response. The purpose of these tables is to highlight the contrasts between a majority sect of fans and a clear minority, and this will be endeavoured to be understood further upon immersing myself amongst this majority at a later fixture and reviewing the data in a similar fashion. What needs to be highlighted is why there are differences between the interpretations of ‘Person A’, and the majority of the crowd, and why this is, as it can begin to provide a contextual background for a paradigm of New Zealand cricket fan culture. These differences will be looked at in depth following an analysis of a fans who position themselves amongst the prominent sect of New Zealand cricket fans.

Differences in the interpretations of events within the fixture between New Zealand and Pakistan between ‘Person A’ and the majority of the crowd need to begin to be unravelled. The simplest way to interpret the data collected from ‘Person A’, is to endeavour to understand it through analysis of the contrasting moments of admiration between ‘Person A’ and the majority of the crowd. Initially, it is important to understand why these contrasting reactions occurred, and on what judgment they are based on.

What became obvious throughout the game, was that ‘Person A’ was praising passages of play, or players on what they thought was a high standard of cricket, no matter what player or team. Whereas the majority of the crowd would applaud whatever was beneficial to New Zealand’s chances of winning the game, no matter how good or bad the quality of the cricket was. This is apparent in the tables above, as every single boundary New Zealand hit was applauded and cheered by the majority of the crowd, despite some of the boundaries hit being miss-hits or being unintentional by the batsman. Whereas ‘Person A’, only applauded what they thought was a high-quality shot. This relates to other facets in the tables above, as ‘Person A’ applauded more dot balls and more other runs scored (singles, twos, or threes), by either side. ‘Person A’ only thought applause warranted one of the wickets New Zealand took, as opposed to the majority of the crowd who cheered every wicket New Zealand took. The same applied in the Pakistan fielding innings; ‘Person A’ applauded three Pakistan wickets, whereas the majority of the crowd did not applaud any. This emphasises the patriotism within most of the crowd, albeit there was a small section of Pakistani fans who followed the same ethos with Pakistan, but it gives some clarity to the possibility that it could be part of the cultural make up of New Zealand cricket fans to place supporting New Zealand over anything, no matter how well the opposition plays at times.

What was also interesting of note, was the selection of words, comparisons, and terminologies ‘Person A’ used to describe things by which were excited. By providing an outline of potentially why ‘Person A’ chose these terminologies and comparisons, it will give scope regarding later findings in this chapter with contrasting fan types. I will look at two instances in detail regarding what ‘Person A’ said at certain times during the game.

First example: Tim Southee of New Zealand bowling to Fakhar Zaman of Pakistan, 6.2 overs, Southee pitches the ball only slightly too short and Fakhar Zaman hits a front foot pull shot through the mid-wicket region for four runs. ‘Person A’ responded: “Oh, what a shot! That’s beautifully played. Look how early he got in position to play that; his head position was so positive”

There are many things to analyse within this statement alone. After the first reaction to the shot played itself, there is a compliment of the shot. But the following immediately notes that 'Person A' has a greater cricketing knowledge than the average person. 'Person A' first refers to how early Fakhar Zaman was in position to play this particular shot, but why are they saying that. It is highly likely that 'Person A' understands that to be able to hit a front foot pull shot that batsman has to get into a stable position to hit the shot incredibly quickly. 'Person A' has an extensive enough knowledge to know the difficulty required to execute this shot, and notes that the head position was positive, most likely knowing that in order for this shot to be hit successfully 'Person A' knows positive head position is paramount.

Second example:

Hasan Ali of Pakistan bowling to Kane Williamson of New Zealand, 31.1 overs, Hasan Ali gets a good length ball to roar off the pitch and produce extra bounce that beats Williamson comprehensively. 'Person A' responded: "Well bowled. He runs in hard every ball, just that extra five percent effort can get the ball to do something different".

Again, this statement can be dissected in detail. Firstly 'Person A' notes the quality of the delivery, therefore basing this judgement on knowing how good this particular ball is. It is clear that 'Person A' knows what is required to get a delivery from a pace bowler to obtain steeper than average bounce off the pitch. Secondly, 'Person A' refers to Hasan Ali as running in hard (to bowl) every time (he bowls the ball). This could include past viewing of Hasan Ali, or even just in this game alone, but the attention that 'Person A' has focused has been sufficient enough to recall that Hasan Ali runs in to bowl with a certain intensity with each delivery. The last sentence refers to 'Person A' having a greater knowledge as to the result of the extra effort in the delivery of a pace bowler. But also having knowledge regarding what type of pace bowler is bowling, as different heights, body types, bowling actions, wrist positions at release, grips, and many more factors are all taken into account. This judgement, being more empirical, and based on factual evidence contrasts to later findings that will be discussed with other fans, as in order to construct a reactive sentence like 'Person A' did in this

example, it is impossible to do so without having significant knowledge in this area of expertise.

## **New Zealand versus England, One Day International**

*New Zealand versus England, First One Day International (Day/Night), 25/2/18, Seddon Park, Hamilton.*

This was the first ODI fixture between New Zealand and England of five. At this fixture I was able to collect data from 'Person A', 'Person B', 'Person C', 'Person D', and 'Person E'. What was brought to light at this fixture was the contrast between differing fan types. Previous data collection with 'Person A' could be interpreted as being objective and educated, whereas the data collection at this fixture provided contrasts to this. It also provides a different perspective it is arguable that these contrasts enlighten what the majority of cricket fans in New Zealand are like.

I attended this game again, with 'Person A', who had agreed to meet with other colleagues of theirs at the game, which would give me a chance to collect data from other participants. By knowing 'Person A', I was able to remove any barriers present and easily establish rapport with other fans due to my personal knowledge and enthusiasm for the game. Throughout this fixture, I collected data from 'Person A', 'Person B', and 'Person C', who were all in close proximity to each other and discussing the game being played amongst themselves. This led to enlightening and organic results.

I was positioned on the embankment area at Seddon Park for this game. This is arguably where the most common fan type sits within this ground, as noted from observation at a previous fixture. This encapsulated a whole different dynamic of cricket fandom within the same ground, one that is easier to be seen and heard, and more common. A general observation of surroundings throughout the game

was necessary as it provided context regarding the cultural inhibitions amongst these fans. Group and individual discussion amongst and with fans was also present, as this provided a microcosm of the collective fan type(s) in the general area. From observation at this fixture there was almost a diffusion between Persons 'A, B, and C' regarding their fan positionality in a cultural sense. This dynamic could also be argued to be an example of fan evolution in relation to knowledge. Persons 'D, and E' also provided a different tangent regarding the influence alcohol has in cricket fan culture in New Zealand. The interpretation of data from this fixture alone is complex, as difficulties can arise in the terminologies used in attempting to define separation of the fan types, and why these separations and differences occur. A general discussion surrounding of three interactions will be interpreted followed by a relative definition of the differing fan types that were present, and where they are positioned within the cultural dynamic of cricket fans in New Zealand today.

First interaction: First innings, 24.6 overs, Trent Boult bowling to Joe Root. Root hits a back-foot cover drive to the cover sweeper fieldsman on the boundary for one run.

'Person A' had the biggest reaction to this. From observing throughout the England innings, it could be argued that 'Person A' had been building up to a crescendo of praise for Root, as they had clapped and praised with enthusiasm for many of the shots played by Root, whereas the rest of the crowd were engulfed in their ambience. With this shot in particular, 'Person A' stated "Shot. Look at that high elbow; he is so good through cover off the back foot, it's always been his strength". Firstly 'Person A' is referring the execution of the shot, therefore resembling some understanding of how it is meant to be played. Secondly, 'Person A' is referring to a technical aspect of this particular shot. This provides context regarding the cricketing knowledge of 'Person A', as they are aware that emphasis on the height of front elbow in this case, allows the batsman to have more control over the stroke itself, as well as providing an aesthetic quality to the viewer who has the capacity to understand. It is clear that the orthodox manner in which Root played this shot, and many others he played during his innings

pleased 'Person A' immensely. The last part of the statement made by 'Person A' provides information that 'Person A' has watched Root play previously in some capacity; quite possibly numerous times. By saying that Root is 'so good through cover off the back foot', and that 'it's always been his strength, expresses that 'Person A' has spent time watching Root bat previously, as 'Person A' notes that it has always been a strength. This provides some historical context to what 'Person A' is saying. 'Person B' backed up what 'Person A' was saying to an extent, stating "He makes it look so easy" following the statement by 'Person A'. What 'Person B' is referring to is batting, and emphasising that Root makes batting look easy. But the difference between 'Person A' and 'Person B' in this situation is that 'Person A' elaborates on the refined nature of the event that has occurred itself, whereas 'Person B' only feels the need state a general notion regarding the overall nature and ability of the individual batsman. 'Person A' and 'Person B' are agreeing on some wavelength, in a way their conversation whether how big or small it is, crosses over, and this continued throughout the fixture. Contrasts begin to occur when the behaviour and discussion of 'Person C' are interpreted. In this situation, 'Person C' seemed to have a vacant disposition about them, as 'Person A', and 'Person B' were clearly on the same page to a degree. 'Person C' did not acknowledge this particular shot by Joe Root, but later events provide a clear definition within this cultural dynamic.

Second interaction: Second innings, 1.2 overs, Chris Woakes bowling to Colin Munro. Munro hits across the line and the ball goes for six runs over deep backward square leg.

This interaction provides alarming contrast between 'Person A' and 'Person C', and 'Person B' could be argued to be in the middle to some degree. The contrasts arise arguably due to a contrast in cricketing knowledge in combination with subjective views on the game, and differences in partisan nature. This interaction begins to provide a contextual background in relation to cricket fan culture, as through observation it is highly likely that the majority of cricket fans in New Zealand are positioned closer to the ideologies of 'Person C', and possibly 'Person B', whereas 'Person A' has had contrasting reactions and opinions to



what the vast majority of the New Zealand crowd at each fixture I have attended with them. This interaction occurred immediately following Colin Munro hitting a delivery from Chris Woakes across the line of the path of the ball, over the deep backward square leg boundary for six runs; the shot played certainly had an unorthodox nature about it. Something about this shot in particular was not pleasing to 'Person A' who immediately stated "how does he keep getting away with that? He's basically a baseball player; he keeps fluking runs because there's pace on the ball, it's a white ball, and there's small boundaries." 'Person C' responded quickly stating "yeah, but that's his job though isn't it? That's just the way he plays, who cares if what it looks like if it comes off, right?" At this moment 'Person B' quickly involved himself in the conversation, in a nonchalant manner, potentially to diffuse the situation arising by providing a somewhat rhetorical question: "how clean did he hit that". This did not stop a response by 'Person A' however, who answered 'Person C' by saying "come on, you can't sit there and say that he's not just slogging it. There's no thought processes going on in his batting, he's just trying to bludgeon everything". 'Person C' responded saying "Who cares as long as he scores runs". This conversation continued but this was all the relevant information I believed was necessary to document in order to elaborate on at this current time. It is imperative to understand why Persons 'A, B, and C' have stated the things they did in this argument.

'Person A' is clearly aggravated by the way in which Colin Munro bats. By the first part in the first recorded statement it is clear that 'Person A' was aware of the manner in which Munro bats, as he refers to how 'he keeps getting away with it'. Meaning 'Person A' has seen Munro play previously, and most likely already disliked Munro as a batsman before watching this game. There is clearly a dislike towards Munro by 'Person A', but this subjectivity could be conceived from an appreciation of a more purist ethos towards cricket. As the previous interaction noted 'Person A' had been praising Joe Root throughout his innings during the game. Root is admired for the orthodox manner in which he plays shot, whereas Munro certainly does not fit well into that category as his approach to batting is more unique, and arguably more modern. There is certainly a possibility that Munro challenges the cricketing ideologies of 'Person A', which could be a reason for the discontent shown towards him. 'Person A' also criticises Munro by

saying that ‘he keeps fluking runs because there’s pace on the ball, it’s a white ball, and there’s small boundaries’.

This statement provides some context regarding the cricketing knowledge of ‘Person A’, as they are aware that this combination allows batsman in the like of Munro to be able to exploit these apparent advantages towards him. The response of ‘Person C’ is a significant contrast to that of ‘Person A’. ‘Person C’ does not seem concerned with the manner in which Munro scores his runs, because he’s scoring them for New Zealand. ‘Person C’ attempts to justify the manner in which Munro bats (that ‘Person A’ criticised), by stating that it is his job to bat the way he does, and it is also the way he plays. It is arguable that the view of ‘Person C’ is very black and white, as it is apparent that all they care about, and potentially can see and/or understand is that Munro is being asked to bat in this manner for the benefit of the team, and he naturally bats in this manner therefore it is a good match, and as long as he scores runs, then it does not matter in the way he does so. It is possible that ‘Person C’ cannot see beyond this front, whereas ‘Person A’ in theory is questioning the long-term stability of batting in a manner like Munro has been doing and is doing during this game.

‘Person B’ in this conversation is positioned somewhere in the middle, as they have not referring to the quality of the shot played, just the contact of bat on ball. ‘Person B’ is appreciating the manner in which the ball has been hit, but there was no evidence throughout this conversation that ‘Person B’ aligned himself closer to ‘Person A’ or ‘Person C’.

The response by ‘Person A’ to ‘Person C’ is blunt. ‘Person A’ seems to be attempting to enlighten ‘Person C’ regarding why this type of batting by Munro is not something that is sustainable long term, or worthy of applause by the majority of the crowd. ‘Person A’ argues that Munro is ‘bludgeoning’ the ball, and that there are no thought processes involved in the way he bats, positing this as a proposition to challenge how ‘Person C’ views Munro and this type of batsmanship. The response of ‘Person C’ was interesting, as they emphasised that

it did not matter what manner Munro batted in, as long as he scored runs. Arguably this was a defence mechanism, as there was no great depth in this answer, and it could be possible that a partisan blindness took over with a combination of potentially not being able to converse in the same depth as ‘Person A’ regarding a more specialised cricketing discussion.

The same formula is used when researching the crowd reactions in relation with the reactions of Persons ‘A, B, and C’, as was used with ‘Person A’ during the earlier fixture between New Zealand and Pakistan (see Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7: Reaction Comparison between ‘Person A’, ‘Person B’, ‘Person C’, and the crowd during England’s batting Innings

	Boundary	(Other) Runs	Dot Ball	Wicket
Reaction from ‘Person A’	4	3	4	4
Reaction from ‘Person B’	3	1	1	7
Reaction from ‘Person C’	2	0	0	8
Reaction from Crowd	2	0	0	8

Table 8: Reaction Comparison between ‘Person A’, ‘Person B’, ‘Person C’, and the crowd during New Zealand’s batting Innings

	Boundary	(Other) Runs	Dot Ball	Wicket
Reaction from ‘Person A’	12	4	4	2
Reaction from ‘Person B’	25	2	1	1
Reaction from ‘Person C’	29	2	0	0
Reaction from Crowd	29	2	0	0

Again, all boundaries hit by New Zealand were reacted to in a positive manner by the crowd, whereas only two were in the England innings, with some reluctance and disappointment on the behalf of the New Zealand bowling. Again, the same theory is followed regarding wickets falling, as every wicket New Zealand took was reacted to positively by the crowd, whereas no wickets England took were reacted to by the crowd positively. What is also interesting of note is that the reactions of 'Person C', are identical with the reactions of the crowd, whereas again, 'Person A' has some similar, but many differing reactions to the majority in the crowd. 'Person B' is more closely aligned to 'Person C' in terms of reacting to events within the game, however they also possessed an ability to converse on some level with 'Person A', whereas 'Person C' struggled.

The same theory regarding judgement by 'Person A' was present during both ODI fixtures they attended, which I previously went into more detail in. 'Person B' sits ambivalently between 'Person A' and 'Person C'. Persons 'A, and C' are very contrasting, and what is obvious from the data collected is that the likes of 'Person A' are a minority within this fan culture dynamic.

At this fixture I also collected data from Persons 'D, and E'. 'Person D', and 'Person E' were enjoying alcoholic beverages at the time of data collection and from the overall theme of the discussion that was had, it would be possible to posit that the cricket itself was secondary to the chance to consume alcohol. 'Person D' and 'Person E' enjoyed cricket and had been watching the game in some sort of relative depth as they were able to recollect events in the game that had happened with clarity and understanding. As 'Person D' noted regarding one of the three sixes in a row Jos Buttler of England hit during one over bowled by New Zealand's Ish Sodhi: "those sixes were massive, how does he hit it that hard". When asked about why they were situated where they were sitting, Persons 'D and E' had interesting responses: 'Person E' stated "it's good here, we only have to walk just over there" (pointing towards the food and drink stalls) "to get more beers; and the toilets are just behind there too so we don't have to walk far", 'Person D' reinforced their reasoning to sit where they were: "it's an all good view here too, and we know one of the people serving the beers so it's sweet".

This confirms the previous theory regarding fans consuming alcohol that was discussed during the data collection interpretation during the fixture between New Zealand and Pakistan. Fans consuming alcohol tend to position themselves closer to the amenities as it is more efficient for them to do so. The discussion with Persons 'D and E' was interesting, as it was clear they knew enough about the game to know where they were sitting provided a good view of the match itself, yet they had also positioned themselves in such a way they did not have to walk far to the amenities. However, their focus seemed to be more focused on consuming more alcohol rather than the cricket itself. Persons 'D and E' were certainly not in the minority in terms of their behaviour at this fixture, as many other groups of people who had all situated themselves in a similar position seemed to be attempting to undertake the same task. This was also prevalent during the earlier fixture versus Pakistan, and was clearly visible from a distance.

### **New Zealand XI versus England XI, Tour Matches**

*New Zealand XI versus England XI, Tour Matches, Two Two-Day Matches, 14/3/18-15/3/18 (Day/Night), 16/3/18-17/3/18, Seddon Park, Hamilton.*

I attended both days of the first two-day fixture, and one day of the second two-day fixture. Both matches were warm up games for the following two Test match series between New Zealand and England. Both of these fixtures were played in such a manner where one side would bat for one whole day, regardless of the amount of wickets fallen, and the other would bowl, then vice versa. This led to an arguable lack of competitiveness from both sides, however it was still high class cricket being played. The first of these two-day fixtures was a day/night game, as the first Test of the series was going to be a day/night Test match; thus, meaning it was played with a pink ball, and finished at around nine o'clock in the evening. This time period is designed to attract fans following a working day. It did not have that affect during this fixture. I collected data from 'Person F' during the first two-day fixture, and 'Person G', during the second two-day fixture. Again, there was a contrast between both fans, however not as alarming as between Persons 'A and C'.

During the first two-day fixture there would estimate there being a maximum of 30 fans at any given time watching the game. Low numbers again, however 'Person F' was amongst them, sitting by themselves at the top of the embankment. 'Person F' stated "it's a good view up here. That guy who got the hundred played well, really well, it was good to watch; I'll be back tomorrow for sure". 'Person F' did not seem bothered about the pink ball being used, and the day/night format, which contrasts to later data from 'Person G'. There was certainly enthusiasm in the tone of 'Person F', they recalled a batsman scoring a hundred, which was Tom Blundell of Wellington, therefore showing that 'Person F' was aware of the game situation yet did not quite recall who the player was who scored a century. However, 'Person F' was not present at the game the following day so no further data could be collected from them. 'Person G' was in attendance during the first day of the second two-day game. From talking with 'Person G', they were travelling through Hamilton and knew the game was on, so stopped to watch the first session of play, and they knew some of the Central Districts representatives playing for the New Zealand XI. 'Person G' stated: "no ones here, I can't believe there aren't more people watching". It was a Friday morning, yet at this time there would have been a maximum of 20 people present, and the crowd only grew to around 50 at its peak during the day and close to 40 of the crowd were English fan, following the England side on the last leg of their long antipodean tour. I told 'Person G' that the previous two-day fixture was a day/night game, with a pink ball used. 'Person G' responded: "I don't know why they bother with that crap; we're like train spotters, we're not going to stop watching red ball cricket. I don't know why they keep trying to cater to people who aren't even interested in the game in the first place". This is a strong stance from 'Person G', and a passionate one. 'Person G' clearly enjoys the traditional aspect of first class cricket, and red ball cricket in general, and feels strongly enough about it to denounce the pink ball change in the game strongly.

## Conclusion

There are many conclusions to emerge from this research. The complexities that are present stem from there not having been a significant amount of academic work conducted within this topic, especially in relation to New Zealand. There are many social histories of cricket that have been published, however, research regarding fan culture within cricket is something that has not been popular in academic research worldwide, and is essentially non-existent in New Zealand. Arguably the best theoretical foundation to build research from within this topic is to use the social construction and historical academic work that is relevant to cricket fan culture in New Zealand.

Difficulties arise when attempting to define cricket fan culture in New Zealand. The data collected for this research shows that there are differing fan types within New Zealand cricket fans, however, the establishment of definitive separation between these would require significant examination far beyond the parameters of this research. Contrasts between other cricketing countries attempt to provide clarity in determining why cricket fan culture in New Zealand has been situated where it has been over time. Yet, cricket fan culture in New Zealand is still difficult to define precisely. It could be possible that an amalgamation of many things, such as a lack of on field success, dominance of rugby union within the sporting landscape, and a lack of cricket being played, has led to cricket fans in New Zealand being restrained in terms of creating their own unique fan culture. Arguably New Zealand has only begun to have consistent success in world cricket in recent years; as previously discussed, the impact of on-field success allowed other cricketing countries in their early development to quickly fashion a cultural paradigm of their own, much in the same way rugby union did in New Zealand. It could be possible that a fan culture within cricket in New Zealand is only at this stage at present.

The definition of cricket fan culture in New Zealand at present is challenging to define concisely. It is not easy to separate fans into groupings of sorts like the *Barmy Army* within English cricket fans, which Parry and Malcolm (2004) are able to do. There are a variety of behaviours present that contribute to the cultural

dynamic of New Zealand cricket fans, however, reactions to events during games, and discussions between fans, tend to follow a similar pattern. The early history of cricket in New Zealand, and the emphasis of cricket administrators at the time to replicate cricket in as English manner as possible, has had a greater impact on cricketing culture today than may be evident from cursory discussion. Research regarding this 'English' nature is certainly conclusive and well-constructed (Ryan, 2004, 2005, 2008a). The emphasis on English values within cricket in New Zealand led to a cricketing culture intent on replicating cricket in such an aristocratic manner, without the population numbers, financial resources, accessibility to play the game, and sufficient transport. It was almost an attempt to start from an English foundation on the other side of the world, without the foundation being there.

The lack of world class players in New Zealand for decades, and a huge contrast in terms of the amount of first class cricket played in comparison to other cricketing countries at the time, especially England, certainly did not help any positivity to be generated from cricket fans in New Zealand. Even post-World War Two, frustrations were still present with New Zealand cricketers regarding the positionality of the game, and players on overseas tours began to focus on the poor standard of cricket played by New Zealand teams. These concerns were in contrast to pre-World War Two touring teams who wrote positively of their time in New Zealand and placed the quality of the cricket as of secondary importance (Douglas, 1984; Graveney, 1958; Howat, 1984; Jardine, 1984; Reid, 1966; Sutcliffe, 1935).

Despite an increase in the frequency of international cricket being played in the latter half of the twentieth century, the professional versus amateur conflict arose within New Zealand cricket, providing another stagnation in what could have been a potential foundation for a cultural cricketing identity to develop. However, the fact that rugby union was the dominant sport in New Zealand did not help any potential growth of professionalism in New Zealand cricket, as the amateur ethos in rugby union transcended New Zealand culture. Following mild successes in the 1980s, New Zealand cricket then struggled for genuine world class cricketers, and only today does New Zealand really possess arguably more than two world class cricketers in their team consistently; quite possibly for the first time in New



Zealand cricketing history. The potential of sustained success is possible, as in recent years the brand of cricket New Zealand has played has been met with positivity worldwide, and New Zealand are winning more often now than they have ever in their history. The difficulties surrounding definition of cricket fan culture in New Zealand ascend from a partisan nature of support. From observation, the majority of fans are very supportive of New Zealand, and the quality of cricket produced by the New Zealand side seems irrelevant as long as there is on field success.

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# Appendices

Geography Programme  
School of Social Sciences  
Faculty of Arts and Social  
Sciences  
*Te Kura Kete Aronui*  
The University of Waikato  
Private Bag 3105  
Hamilton 3240  
New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4466 ext.  
9174  
E-mail  
colin.mcleay@waikato.ac.nz  
www.waikato.ac.nz



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

Danny Gibbs  
Colin McLeay

Geography

17 November 2017

Dear Danny,

**Re: FS2017-53 More English than the English? Cricket culture and the fandom in New Zealand**

Thank you for submitting your revised application to the FASS Human Research Ethics Committee. We have reviewed the final electronic version of your application and the Committee is now pleased to offer formal approval for your research activities, including the following:

- participant observation of cricket fans at various international and first-class games in New Zealand.
- interviews with cricket fans at various international and first-class games in New Zealand.

We encourage you to contact the committee should issues arise during your data collection, or should you wish to add further research activities or make changes to your project as it unfolds. We wish you all the best with your research. Thank-you for engaging with the process of Ethical Review.

Kind regards,

Dr Fraser Macdonald  
*Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.*